THE NATION
1865 Centennial Year 1965
JULY 5, 1965 . . 35c

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Norman Reider

The Protestant Computer
Ralph Caplan

LSD: The Contact High
Howard Junker

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LETTERS

Student discontent

Madison, Wis.

Dear Sirs: Mervin B. Freedman ["Roots of Student Discontent," *The Nation*, June 14] is justly concerned with student dissatisfactions. However his solutions sound like more of the same, if not worse. . . . He wishes the students to understand themselves so they will not "fall prey" to the wrong leadership. He does not ask them to understand the "many features of the society they were about to enter" so that they may achieve the freedom that comes with that understanding. There is no use in understanding ourselves if the same abuses continue to exist in the university and the society. . . .

I agree with him that there should be smaller classes, more faculty-student rapport and more interdisciplinary studies. But he does not say how this is to be brought about. This fault indicates that he does not understand the problem. The question is one of control and authority. The present American university is an authoritarian institution which seeks to control the mind and behavior of its students in social, intellectual and political contexts. As a dean, Dr. Freedman proposes the usual solutions from above without the slightest hint that a little good old American democracy might help. . . .

Stephen Levine

New York City

Dear Sirs: I have read "Roots of Student Discontent" by Mervin B. Freedman and would like to tell you that I feel this article is brilliant.

Mr. Freedman has done a remarkable job of analyzing the problem of student discontent, which is really the problem of our discontent, the modern man's discontent.

Dr. Anne Steinmann

Early friend

Canton, O.

Dear Sirs: While you are celebrating the 100th anniversary of your renowned weekly, you may be interested in knowing that our daily newspaper, the Canton (O.) *Repository*, celebrated its 150th birthday on the 30th of last March. . . . In 1865, when our paper was celebrating its 50th anniversary, its founder, John Saxton, did his utmost to secure subscribers for your weekly long before it appeared.

The bound volume of the *Repository* for 1865 shows that he printed *The Nation's* prospectus . . . many times before your first issue appeared in July of 1865. He heartily endorsed the objectives for which *The Nation* was being launched. Several of these, namely, "to stress the importance of public education . . . to spread the principles of democracy . . . and to offer sound and impartial literary and art criticism," undoubtedly reminded him of the promise he made to his readers in the first issue of the *Repository* on March 30, 1815: "Truth shall be my guide, and public good my aim."

The bound volumes of the *Repository* of 1815 to 1865 show that he kept this promise. For instance, when in the summer of 1839, William H. McGuffey, later famed for his McGuffey Readers, lectured in Canton to stress the democratizing influence of the public school system, his audience was very small. Saxton, an ardent champion of the then unpopular common school system, publicly scolded the indifference of his townsmen. Saxton's impartiality in literary matters is shown by his publishing many of Walt Whitman's earlier prose works while that writer was unpopular elsewhere. . . .

The files give an intimate account of John Quincy Adams' canal trip through Massillon, O., when the canal was opened shortly after 1828. Again, the *Repository* volume for 1840 contains an account of Gen. William H. Harrison's Presidential campaigning by stagecoach, and description of log-cabin parades. . . .

Decades ago, one of your readers, George F. Milton, of Chattanooga, Tenn., while gathering material for his book, *Eve of Conflict*, appealed for help through your columns. He was referred to the files of the *Repository*, where he obtained the desired information. . . .

Microfilms of the *Repository* are available at Canton Public Library.

J. W. Hughmanic

Suspicion of power

Strasbourg, France

Dear Sirs: In his article, "The Student Left" [*The Nation*, May 10], Jack Newfield listed Irving Howe and Lewis Coser—along with a number of persons described as "revisionist liberals"—as hostile to the new student Left. This is both inaccurate and unfair. It is quite true that both have expressed skepticism about various aspects of the new movement (including some things criticized by Mr. Newfield himself), but they have done so from a consistently radical position. Memories are short. When some in the elder generation were announcing that Eisenhower's America was, in effect, the fulfilled revolution—Coser and Howe were launching *Dissent* magazine, which earned them nothing but patronizing contempt from some of the "revisionist liberals." Coser and Howe . . . are intrinsically suspicious of all organized power, and they see no reason why criticism should stop at the door of their comrades' house. The New Left ought to distinguish these totally admirable traits from the satisfied conformity of others. . . .

Norman Birnbaum

THE NATION

Monday, July 5, 1965
Volume 201, No. 1

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The Squeeze

Judging by his every action since his election, the President consistently and habitually thinks of foreign-policy problems in terms of domestic politics. If he is capable of a larger view, he has not demonstrated it. His swift reactions when the rebellion broke out in the Dominican Republic showed how his reflexes work. He could hear, as if they had already said it, what the Republicans would say if he failed to act fast, and with overwhelming force. In Vietnam, likewise, his successive escalations indicate that he fears the Republican right wing more than he fears the critics in his own party—and not without reason. If domestic political alliances are to be the governing factor and the President is unwilling, or unable, to take a statesmanlike stand on foreign issues, the Republicans can cause him more trouble, in the immediate future at least, than the intellectuals and their friends in Congress.

The Republicans, having so far "gone along" with the President on foreign policy, have staked out a position which they can sooner or later exploit to great advantage. Like all effective political ploys, it is an either-or proposition. As the build-up in Vietnam continues, the Republicans can at some point beat their breasts and cry that they never suggested the United States should get involved in a ground war on the Asian mainland. Did not another Democratic President get us into such a war in Korea, and was it not a Republican President who got us out and warned against a recurrence? All we wanted, the script will read, is aerial bombing, in which we are supreme, and that is what you, LBJ, started to do but then you chickened out for fear of Chinese reaction. So much for the "either" part; the "or" is equally simple. Should the President finally find someone to negotiate with, the Republicans will scream sell-out, and equate negotiation with appeasement. Addressed to the thoughtless and the violent, it will be a convincing argument, since concessions will have to be made on both sides if the war is to be ended, and such groups are never satisfied with anything but total victory.

Precisely because he translates foreign policy into domestic tactical moves, the President should ponder well the horns of this dilemma, and look ahead to where it leads. Better that he should stand up manfully to the charge of being, of all things, a negotiator, than that he should stagger into a full-scale war on the mainland of Asia. The longer he maintains his "hunkering" posture, which, as he himself says, is the posture of a Texas mule, the greater the risk of an uncontrollable escalation at the end of a series of controlled escalations. We have witnessed a steady, one-way progression. We have poured in more and more men and materiel, and steadily enlarged the fighting, we have bombed to little effect and we will bomb in larger and more dangerous areas; because what we have done has not sufficed, we must always do more. If the President does not stop "hunkering" and start negotiating—with the Vietcong—the Goldwater faction will have him where it wants him.

N.Y. Discovers the Hudson

We are a bright, perceptive, ingenious people. We perform prodigies of engineering and our love of technology is matched only by our love of apple pie. We are all set to send space vehicles to the moon and, even before we get there, we are planning to explore Mars, some 150 million miles away. But in the relatively simple matter of water management—which is no more than orderly ecological housekeeping—we are monumental incompetents. We know what should be done, but in a tangle of conflicting interests and pursuit of the fast buck we too often fail to do it.

The disgrace is national, but just now the spotlight is on the City of New York, the seat of the United Nations and in many ways the center of Western civilization. In this supposedly great metropolis one must ask for a drink of water in a restaurant, a matter of 8 fluid ounces, and feel a little guilty in asking. Fountains and swimming pools, even though the water is recirculated and only moderate amounts must be added to make up for evaporation, are shut down by official edict. Car washing and lawn sprinkling are banned. More stringent regulations are in store if the drought continues. Yet it is not a very severe drought; in an area normally blessed with 40 inches of rain a year, an average deficiency of about 10 inches has occurred in each of the past three years. The Los Angeles area, where something like 10 inches is the annual precipitation, would in its best year envy New York in its worst.

There is no water shortage, actually, either over the nation or in the New York area; the problem is one of misuse and waste. The Water Commissioner of New York has just discovered the Hudson River as a possible source of water. The Hudson is one of the country's great rivers, with an inexhaustible supply to be had for the pumping, but of course it is polluted, as are practically all our great rivers. The Hudson was turned to once before, during the 1949-

SUMMER SCHEDULE

During July and August, *The Nation* will appear on alternate weeks: forthcoming issues will be dated July 19, Aug. 2, Aug. 16, and Aug. 30.

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50 drought, and a pumping station was built at Chelsea, about sixty miles upstream from the city and above the tidal limit. The plant cost about $3 million and never produced any water, because by the time it was operative more upland sources had been developed and it was felt inadvisable to mix treated water with the Croton, Catskill and Delaware water New Yorkers are accustomed to, and which is admittedly of the finest quality. It would be a pity to dilute it, but there is no sense in being fanatical in such matters. The plant was dismantled in 1957, on the theory that the upland sources would be adequate for all time. Eight years later, there is another crisis. It was a mistake to take the equipment out, but the building stands and should be re-equipped as a stand-by source, with whatever chemical treatment may be required to make the water potable.

The real solution, of course, is to purify the Hudson not only as a water supply but because it is one of the country's great recreational and aesthetic resources. The legislature did indeed approve, speedily and unanimously, Governor Rockefeller's $1.7 billion pure-water program. A billion-dollar bond issue must be voted on in November and the voters should be given full information on the need for its passage, lest the penny-wise-pound-foolish policy continue.

Lovestone's Foreign Policy

In this issue Sidney Lens, most of whose adult life has been spent as a trade union organizer and official, lifts the curtain of secrecy and silence which has long obscured the role of Jay Lovestone in what *Business Week* calls "labor's own version of the Central Intelligence Agency." More than one observer has been astonished that a man of Lovestone's background should, for so many years, have played a key role not merely in orienting the American labor movement well to the right on foreign policy issues, but in setting up a world-wide intelligence network which, throughout the cold war, has worked in close liaison with the official CIA and unofficial militants. On reflection, however, it is not as surprising as it appears. After the labor movement conducted the great post-1947 "purge" [see "Labor and the Cold War," *The Nation*, Dec. 10, 1955], the ascendancy of an embittered anti-Communist with past leadership experience in the Communist Party was a natural sequel.

But in itself this does not explain the unqualified willingness of labor's Meany-Lovestone faction to back the cold-war program. With only isolated exceptions, labor has made its political policies conform to its day-by-day economic interests. It has dismissed as irrelevant counsel like that of Sen. Wayne Morse, its best informed and most consistent friend in the Congress. In his eloquent assault on the foreign-aid program, Senator Morse no doubt had the Meany-Lovestone machine in mind when he said: "Too many American labor leaders seem to think that we can justify these millions of dollars in foreign aid because 80 per cent of the money is spent in the United States and thereby makes jobs for American workers. Let me say to American labor, 'I do not intend to support your program in the advocacy of blood money.' I yield to no man in Congress or in the country in support of the legitimate objectives of organized labor. But if it is a make-work program for the arms industry which labor desires—what an immoral premise on which to stand."

But Senator Morse touched on only one aspect of labor's reactionary foreign-policy position. It is not only that its Washington leadership supports the arms program as a make-work scheme; it also resists alternative policies and programs that promise to yield better long-term dividends to unions and their members. The ironical result is that big businessmen are generally more progressive than big labor leaders. It is Thomas Gates, chairman of the board of Morgan Guaranty Trust Company, who advocates reconsideration of our China policy, not George Meany. It is the U.S. Chamber of Commerce that would explore means of expanding East-West trade, not the AFL-CIO.

Perhaps the latter's policies are too benighted to prevail much longer without stirring up opposition. In May, Lovestone found it necessary to conduct a series of regional conferences for U.S. unionists to justify the AFL-CIO views in the foreign field, and to rebut arguments that the United States should give more attention to its domestic problems. Now and then opposition comes out into the open, as when U.A.W. treasurer, Emil Mazey, denounced American policy in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic. These voices are in the minority at the moment, but they are evidence that some sections of the labor movement have begun to feel that the AFL-CIO serves neither abstract justice nor the interests of its own members by expediting, and sometimes even instigating, the stratagems of American foreign policy.

Obstacles to Voting

One of the standard laments about the state of our democracy is that even in a hot national election less than 65 per cent of the supposedly eligible voters cast their ballots, while in off-year elections a 50 per cent turnout has never been reached. What is not generally realized is that nonvoters include not only those who don't care, but also millions who are disqualified on technical grounds. In addition to those who are barred because of their race, citizens ranging from migratory workers to relocating executives and professional men lose the right to vote. If the latter groups stay put they become voters once more, but the migrants may never gain a chance to vote.

Rep. Robert Kastenmeier has performed another of his public services by calling attention to an article bearing on this subject by Rep. John R. Schmidhauser, which appeared in the *Michigan Law Review* of February, 1963, when Mr. Schmidhauser was professor of political science at the State University of Iowa. Since 1900, the U.S. population has been increasingly on the move, and under our present laws

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moving often results in disenfranchisement. Most recent census figures show that persons who do not live in the state of their birth increased by 5.7 per cent during the sixty-year period beginning in 1900; among the nonwhite population the rise was 12.2 per cent (accompanied by a large increase in their percentage of the total population). State laws prescribing voting eligibility take no account of geographical mobility. They were passed to deal with "floaters" at a time when respectable people mostly lived where their ancestors had lived. Thus twelve states require a minimum term of residence of six months, four exclude newcomers for two years; the majority — thirty-seven — stipulate one year. (The total of fifty-three is accounted for by Guam, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands.)

The American Heritage Foundation has analyzed the causes of nonvoting and finds that at the time of the November, 1964, elections 104 million adult citizens were of voting age, and of these 8 million were mobile adults unable to meet state or local requirements. Eight million is surely not a negligible number. If all these citizens were free to exercise the franchise, our 62 per cent top might rise to a mark comparable with Denmark's 87 per cent, 85 per cent in Finland, 81 per cent in Israel, 79 per cent in Norway, 77 per cent in Great Britain, 72 per cent in France, 71 per cent in Japan, etc.

Two states have taken the initiative in seeking a remedy for geographical disqualification. In 1963, the Connecticut legislature passed a law permitting former residents to vote by absentee ballot for Presidential and Vice Presidential electors for fifteen months after they had moved from the state or, within the same period, until they had fulfilled the residency requirements in the state to which they had moved. In the same year, Wisconsin passed legislation allowing new residents to vote in Wisconsin if they were eligible in their former places of residence. Several other states have taken action on either the Connecticut or Wisconsin pattern. In 1962, the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws adopted a proposed act embodying the Connecticut plan. Representative Schmidhauser favors federal action to clear up the confusion.

In a commencement address at the California Institute of Technology, Dr. Frank Stanton, president of the Columbia Broadcasting System, characterized our whole electoral system as a horse-and-buggy affair. He called for a twenty-four-hour election day, with the polls opening and closing at the same time all over the country. Registration would be automatic, permanent and nationally valid. Voting would be electronic, and counting would be done by computers. Dr. Stanton believes these measures would bring out the vote and cost less in the long run.

Since 1865

The first issue of *The Nation* appeared on July 6, 1865. Since the date of this week's issue falls closest to that of the actual centennial date, we have included (pp. 17-21) some of the messages and greetings we have received in recent months. The special Centennial Issue, of approximately 350 pages, which will go to all subscribers, will be published on September 20, 1965. It will contain the first complete history of the publication, a section devoted to memoirs by various staff members, editors and others, and a section of essays surveying selected aspects of American life and culture over the last century. Among the contributors will be: Mark Van Doren, Sen. Ernest Gruening, Harvey Swados, Dalton Trumbo, Barbara Tuchman, Howard Zinn, Freda Kirchwey, Leon Edel, Lewis Coser and many others. The survival of *The Nation* for a century must be regarded as one of the major miracles of American journalism. But it is a miracle that has been made possible by the support of many thousands of friends, subscribers, advertisers, well-wishers, readers and contributors down the years; to all these go our thanks for their continued loyal and generous support.

Russia vs. China

CLASH OVER VIETNAM . . . . . Isaac Deutscher

London

The latest Chinese attacks on Soviet policy and the Russian reply in *Pravda* of June 20 put an end to the ideological truce between Moscow and Peking which, despite occasional snipings, has lasted since Khrushchev's fall. "We had hopes regarding the new Soviet leaders," the Chinese say, "and we have watched and waited for several months." But the waiting period is over, because the present Soviet leaders have proved "incurable revisionists," arrogant power politicians and chauvinists, whose aim it is "to rule the world in partnership with the American imperialists." As Trotskyists and at one time even Titoists used to say, so the Maoists now claim that the opportunism of Soviet foreign policy has had its source not just in the mistakes of individual leaders but in the interests of a quasi-bourgeois "privileged stratum" which dominates the Soviet Union. (It should be noted that Peking uses Trotsky's formula "privileged stratum" rather than Djilas' "new class," a subtle difference to the layman, but a significant one to the specialized student.)

The Soviets have replied to this

Isaac Deutscher is the author of many books on the USSR, among them The Great Contest: Russia and the West, *and a three-volume life of Trotsky (both Oxford University Press).*

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that "a Communist who rejects joint action in the struggle against the common enemy, under the pretext that there are differences of opinion, is not fulfilling his sacred international duty."

It is over Vietnam that this new Soviet-Chinese crisis has come to a head, after a long and intense tug of war behind the scenes. While it is broadly true that the Russians stand for moderation and that the Chinese argue from revolutionary irreconcilability, the sharpness of the present discord is due to a more specific and more complicated issue which is of crucial importance for the immediate future.

To intervene or not to intervene? Paradoxically at first sight, Moscow is eager for intervention in Vietnam, while Peking objects to it. A first indication of this was given last March, when the Chinese were reported to have stopped at their frontier Soviet arms transports for North Vietnam. The Russians protested then and the Chinese, it was said, yielded and allowed the transports to pass. It now appears that they opened the road to only some of the Soviet transports, and that others had to return to the USSR. The affair is enigmatic, for both sides are extremely reticent about it, but it is virtually certain that the trains the Chinese allowed to pass carried only supplies of munitions. The mysterious cargo that returned to Russia is said to have consisted of military specialists and advisers detailed to Hanoi. According to information coming indirectly from a Chinese source (but not confirmed from other sources), Peking denied transit to no fewer than 20,000 Soviet specialists and advisers. If this report is correct, then the Chinese Government has vetoed and, for the time being, frustrated a Soviet attempt to build up in Vietnam a military establishment that might match the American establishment.

Such an action may appear inconsistent on the part of Peking. The Chinese have repeatedly denounced Russian reluctance to aid North Vietnam and the Vietcong; why then do they themselves sabotage Soviet aid? On the other hand, how is one to square Russian "moderation" with Moscow's willingness to commit itself so heavily to direct intervention in Vietnam? These contradictions may not seem so strange if the following points of the Russo-Chinese controversy are considered:

(1) The Chinese believe that the Vietcong can win the war in South Vietnam by its own forces. For this it needs generous aid in munitions, but no Soviet military establishment with thousands of specialists and advisers. Peking argues that with the support of an overwhelming majority of the local population, the Vietcong will be able to drive into an impasse any American expeditionary forces, even ones far larger than are at present engaged in Vietnam. They draw a parallel with the Algerian War, in which a French army, half a million strong and superbly equipped, could not defeat the partisans. The Vietcong is in this respect even better placed than was the Algerian FLN, which had to contend with the hostility of a huge mass of French settlers and *colons*.

The Russians are less confident of the Vietcong's chances. Nor do they believe that President Johnson will ever be able to afford admitting defeat and withdrawing in the way General de Gaulle admitted defeat and withdrew from Algeria. Moscow fears that the United States will go on pouring men and munitions into Vietnam and raising the stakes as long as its military power is confronted solely by the Vietcong. Only the presence of a Soviet military establishment in Vietnam, so the argument runs, can deter American escalation and eventually allow the Vietcong to obtain advantageous terms through negotiation.

(2) The Chinese suspect that through their specialists and advisers the Russians may obtain control of all the key positions in North Vietnam, turn the country into its satellite, and eventually strike a bargain with the Americans at the expense of Hanoi's and Southeast Asia's revolutionary interests. The Russians do in fact favor some new version of the 1954 Geneva settlement. The Chinese, who at the time endorsed that settlement, now think that it gave undue advantages to the anti-Communists; and they refuse to repeat the experiment. They do not wish to be involved in any international bargaining, for they are convinced that in any such meeting the Vietcong will be "betrayed." They have vetoed Russian plans to appeal to the United Nations and the Security Council, and all attempts by neutral governments, especially by India, to act as umpires or mediators. The real belligerents in Vietnam, so the Chinese argue, are the Americans and the Vietcong; and the Americans and the Vietcong should be the only partners in any negotiations for armistice or peace. The Russians reply that as the Americans will never consent to such a loss of face, a negotiated settlement can be achieved only at an international conference, to which the Vietcong is brought by the major Communist powers.

(3) Moscow and Peking disagree also over the prospects of American escalation. Here the Chinese are in a sense more moderate than the Russians. They fear that Russian intervention may precipitate escalation just as did Khrushchev's intervention in Cuba, and the installation of a Soviet missile base there. During the Cuban crisis they criticized Khrushchev for his "adventurism" (in needlessly provoking the United States), as well as for his "opportunism" (in meekly climbing down). "We want neither your adventurism nor your opportunism in Vietnam," the Chinese now say to Kosygin and Brezhnev.

(4) Peking maintains that the Russians are secretly negotiating a Vietnamese settlement with the Americans. Hints to the same effect come occasionally also from authoritative American sources. It is difficult to say just how much truth there is in them; but even if Russo-American soundings are taking place, their effect has so far been negligible, because Moscow has had little or no influence on what is going on in South Vietnam.

It is therefore logical for Moscow to try to increase its influence by establishing a closer contact with the North Vietnamese Government. Only the other week a delegation from Hanoi was received in the Soviet capital with a great show of cordiality. The North Vietnamese are in a quandary: they must show Moscow their gratitude for the aid received; but they are wary of antagonizing Peking, and they hardly wish to see legions of Soviet "advisers" and "specialists" in Vietnam.

For the time being, everyone in the Communist world is waiting to see just how much ground the Vietcong gains through its offensives in the monsoon season. Some of the points at issue between Peking and Moscow may be resolved by the time the rains are over.

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Censorship: Fanatics and Fallacies

The Anonymous Smut Hunters . . . Norman Mark

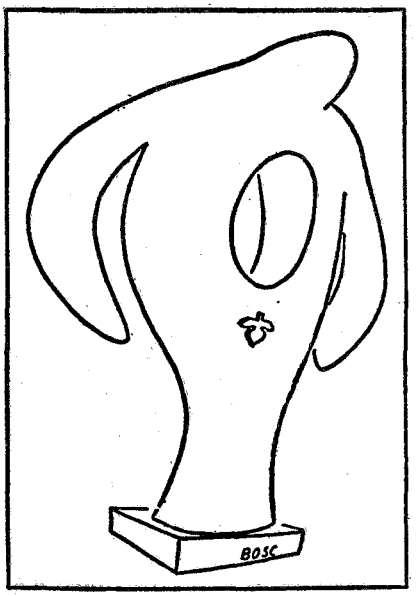
Chicago

The saturation of our civilization with obscenity and pornography shackles and enslaves to lust and depravity. It is necessary to slip these surly bonds. This means it is necessary for each person in America to become a citizen for decency.

That is the vow of Charles H. Keating, Jr., founder and co-chairman of Citizens for Decent Literature, a nation-wide organization devoted to book-shelf purification. Claiming 300 chapters throughout the nation and untold numbers of followers, CDL's statement of policies says that its purpose is "the creation of an awareness and knowledge among the peoples of the world of the quantity and nature of obscene literature. With this background of awakened public opinion we expect law enforcement by duly constituted authorities against the illegal activities of the obscenity peddlers."

The emphasis is on "law enforcement" and, because of this orientation, CDL pursues its goals with a fervor mixed with sophisticated caution. It is against "smut," but prints no lists or guides for merchants—thus avoiding court charges of prior restraint. It is for legal action, but tries hard not to become a party with the prosecution—thus avoiding costly countersuits. It says it is against boycotts, although it has been frequently accused of suggesting them at meetings of the membership. It is for orderly judicial processes, although it has been accused of trying to influence judges and prosecutors by such tactics as letter-writing campaigns and courtroom packing.

Although called Citizens for Decent Literature and Motion Pictures, Inc., the organization concentrates on paperback books, magazines and tabloid newspapers. Keating, who founded it in Cincinnati in 1957, is billed in CDL literature as an attorney, father, former all-American swimmer and fighter pilot. According to one pamphlet, "Keating's concern over the flood of printed poi-



son was galvanized one day in 1956, when he noticed youngsters at a newsstand snickering over a display set apart from the rest of the magazines and paperbacks. Moving over for a look, Keating was shocked. Beside the 'girlie' magazines featuring nudes in suggestive poses, dozens of publications depicted not only raw sex but stories of abnormal sex behavior. By any decent citizen's definition, this was pornography, dirt for dirt's sake."

After some success in enlisting the Cincinnati police chief and mayor in an anti-obscenity campaign (climaxed in 1959 by a "Decency Day"), CDL became a national organization in 1962. By 1964, it claimed 200 chapters and a year later listed 100 more. Although it never defines a "chapter" (is it 100 people or one letter-writing lady?), and although understatement is not a CDL weakness, it must be classed as a major force for censorship in this country.

It has three informal levels of membership. At the top are Keating and the Cincinnati group, the strong chapters in Fort Wayne, Ind., Chicago, New York, parts of California and other towns. On the next level is the unknown number of people who send $5 to CDL headquarters and receive *The National Decency Reporter,* containing stories of victories over pornography and advice on how to fight it. Below the dues payers are the hundreds and thousands of people who have been subjected to CDL programs and movies, and may be considered the hidden strength of the organization.

An evening with CDL was described by one of its founders:

We'd volunteer to address any group that would have us: PTAs, fraternal orders, women's clubs. After we had described the problem, we'd pass around to the audience a typical group of pornographic publications. Invariably, everybody would be shocked. They would say, "But we don't have this kind of magazine in Cincinnati; this is from New York or Los Angeles. Our children don't see this horrible stuff."

Then the CDL speaker would drop the bomb: "I bought these magazines half an hour ago at the newsstand just around the corner."

The outraged listeners would demand immediate action. "Let's picket the stores," they would say. Or "boycott the newsstands!" or "Burn the trash!"

The cool legal minds of CDL had a much better solution.

"Write a letter" was our answer every time.

A magazine publisher has claimed that the magazines shown at CDL meetings are made to look dirtier than they really are because CDL members paste black paper over the areas of the body that they find offensive even though the girl pictured was dressed in a bathing suit.

City officials who have received letters from CDL after such meetings say that they range from polite thank-you notes (sent before the bewildered prosecutor has instituted any criminal action) to vile hate notes. Most are signed, but none carries CDL identification.

Much of the letter writing is conducted by CDL's youth group, and that presented a vexing problem to a writer in the Christmas, 1964, issue of *The National Decency Reporter.* There is an "iron-clad rule" that "great care must be taken to insure that no one in the youth group is exposed to the material in any way."

"So how do they recognize the

Norman Mark covers city hall for the City News Bureau of Chicago.

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enemy—or even know why it is an enemy—when they have never met it in person?" the decency writer asks, only to neatly solve his conundrum in the next paragraph: "Well, that's where all the complimentary adjectives come in, like 'mature,' and 'intellectually competent,' and 'reasoned.' All these citizens know enough to keep covered when it snows, though few of them have experienced pneumonia. They can recognize communism as an enemy of human freedom, though none of them has debated with Mao Tse-tung or flown a U-2 over Moscow."

Speakers at CDL public meetings often echo far-Right lines and inject a strong religious appeal. Fight smut and you fight for God and against communism. Keating has called CDL a religious crusade and has written: "The question posed by this onslaught of evil is not one involving freedom or censorship. The question is the survival of Judeo-Christian civilization. If the decent citizens of this nation continue lethargic and apathetic in the face of this pernicious enemy, the families of Western Civilization will live under the anarchy of the libertine, and 'the plum soon thereafter will become ripe for plucking' by Communism."

Films have recently been added to the public programs and are available for $25 on four-day rental. Their titles are *I'd Rather Have a Paper Doll* (how a marriage is ruined by a young husband's penchant for pornography), *Perversion for Profit* (exposé of the pornography racket) and *Pages of Death*. The last is described as "a dramatization of an actual sex crime by a 16-year-old boy, which traces the stimulation of his act to exposure to obscene magazines and paperback books: THIS FILM IS SUITABLE FOR SHOWING TO ALL AGE GROUPS OF HIGH SCHOOL LEVEL AND ABOVE. ALSO RECOMMENDED FOR TELEVISION SHOWING." (Their caps.) A national magazine publisher has complained that "hundreds of little old ladies in gym shoes have gotten their first sexual kicks in years from this film."

Besides encouraging a positive public attitude toward censorship, CDL conducts a secret campaign for stricter law enforcement. Booksellers never know when they have become targets, prosecutors never know if the individual letter writer is expressing his opinion or the group's, and judges never know if the innocent-looking person taking notes in the back of the courtroom is representing CDL, a church group or just wants to be titillated when an allegedly dirty book is read aloud to the jury.

The guerrilla campaign begins with a group of women visiting a bookstore or a drugstore. They look through the magazines and books and suggest that certain ones be removed from the shelves. If the owner demurs, there are veiled threats of boycott or legal action.

Sometimes the visit is a conscious attempt at entrapment, as described by Joseph W. Faulkner, president of the Booksellers Association of Greater Chicago:

> *The other day an expensively dressed North Shore matron type pushed her son into Main Street Book Store before her and, after much prodding by mommy, sonny asked for a copy of* Candy. *The salesman refused to sell the boy a copy and, after much more prodding by mommy and insistence by the boy that he be sold a copy, the salesman told the lady that he would be glad to sell her a copy but not one to her son. They left without exploding their booby trap.*

Was the lady a member of CDL or just a mother who sincerely wanted her son to read *Candy* (a book unofficially banned for awhile in Chicago)? No one knows. In fact most booksellers claim that they have never met anyone who identified himself as a CDL member.

State attorneys, city officials and police receive books and magazines mailed to them by individuals. Other individuals meet with them from time to time to encourage more stringent enforcement of obscenity codes. Citizens for Decent Literature never *officially* does any of these things.

Lawyers have complained that after several CDL members spend hours in a public official's office arguing against smut, it seems that a large segment of the community is up in arms. The official gets an inflated opinion of the support for an anti-smut campaign.

Even in a city like Chicago where CDL claims a certain degree of success in its campaign (newsstands near public transportation purged, several obscenity convictions now being appealed, a friendly attitude on the part of public officials towards CDL), Chicago chairman and national executive vice president Edward Recruciak admits that less than thirty people do the work, give the speeches and make the decisions about what is or is not obscene.

The pressure for prosecution, even in the face of Supreme Court decisions, is relentless and intense. Some attorneys have said that CDL is helping foment a lower-court rebellion against the Supreme Court. Elmer Gertz (see page 7), who defended *Tropic of Cancer* and *Fanny Hill* in court, has warned that in addition to the great expense booksellers must incur to prove points that have already been ruled upon, "this flouting of the law by the lower courts is the greatest menace to freedom of the press in this country. In obscenity actions there is as much rebellion among Northern local and state courts against U.S. Supreme Court decisions as in court tests of integration in the South."

Others have complained that CDL picks only on the "little guy," the corner drugstore, the neighborhood newsstand, and avoids rich hardcover publishers or large booksellers. CDL claims that the prosecutors choose the targets.

In any case, once an anti-obscenity campaign is started it is hard to stop and hard to prevent excesses from happening. Just as CDL claims that once a boy is "hooked" on men's magazines he will graduate to the wildly smutty; a drive tends to begin with pornography and end with literature. As one attorney said, "Parkinson's law applies. When a group is established to fight pornography, it has to go out and find business for itself."

Once a case is in court, CDL offers experts to testify that youth is indeed harmed by pornography (with the defense usually claiming that the problem with most juvenile delinquents is that they don't read at all), offers attorneys as friends of the court, organizes letter-writing campaigns, and has representatives in court to take notes and attempt to advise the prosecutor at every recess.

In early 1962, when an obscenity ruling on *Tropic of Cancer* was being appealed, CDL prepared and distributed a pamphlet containing the nineteen dirtiest passages from the book. Elmer Gertz pointed out: "This pamphlet, which was supposed to show how bad the book was, had no plot, no redeeming qualities. While fighting pornog-

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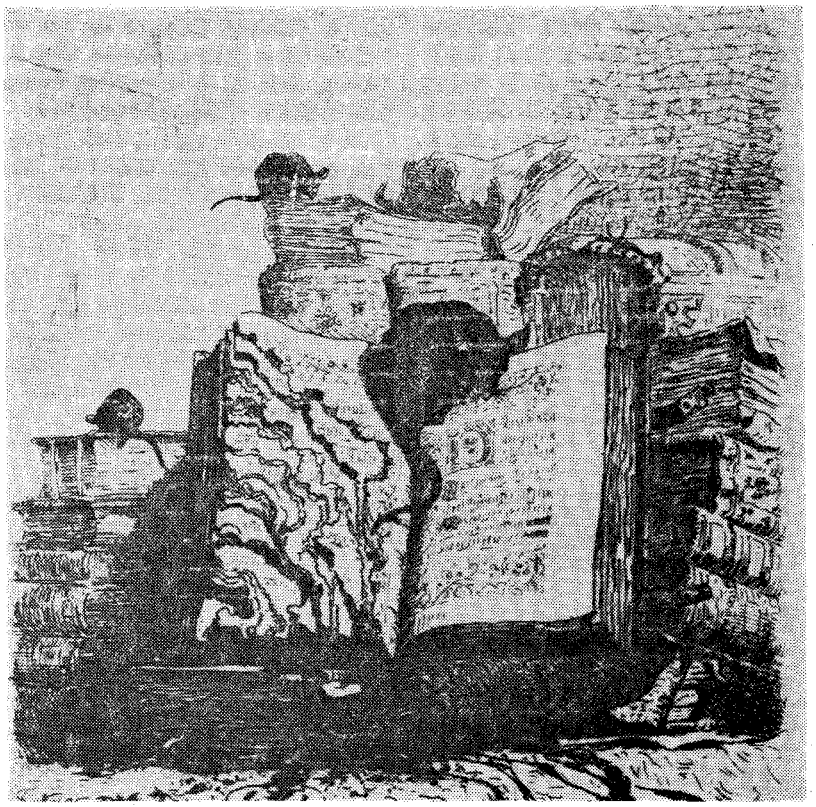

raphy, CDL had actually created a piece of pornography."

Some authorities have claimed that CDL gains false strength through a confusion of its name with that of the Catholic Legion of Decency. Booksellers, lawyers and others say that it is a front group for the National Office for Decent Literature (NODL), which was formed to fight obscenity by the Bishops of the United States in 1938. NODL officials deny a connection between the two groups.

Playboy magazine, in the twelfth installment of its mammoth philosophy, stated that "Catholic censorship is implemented at the local community level by an organization called Citizens for Decent Literature. It is a Catholic lay organization, though it gains its acceptance in some communities by appearing to be a civic group with no specific religious affiliation." CDL says that its membership is open to anyone, that it doesn't seek and doesn't have any *official* church affiliation. But laymen cite articles with a CDL by-line in Catholic newspapers and note that in Chicago CDL has a priest as an adviser.

The adviser, Father Francis X. Lawlor, a high school religion instructor, has stated that the church "has absolutely nothing to do with CDL. All I do is read the books and advise them which I think are obscene." Chicago chairman Recruciak agrees with Father Lawlor, but adds: "We would seek the help of any church. We would like them to speak out against obscenity." A Catholic attorney, Paul C. Ross, who has defended many booksellers, agreed that judges think CDL is an arm of the Catholic Church, but asserted: "It is not. Many Catholics resent this inference and I happen to be one of them."

Despite its emphasis on legal methods and law enforcement, CDL has recently run into some difficulties with the courts. When Keating testified for the prosecution in a Visalia, Calif., obscene literature trial in 1964 (allegedly the first time he appeared in court as a CDL official) and then did not show up to be cross-examined by the defense, the judge rebuked Keating for violating his oath as an attorney and indicated that he may have been in contempt of court. Keating wrote that press of business kept him from returning.

In Chicago, a $375,000 damage suit has been filed by Universal Publishing in Federal Court claiming that an alleged illegal boycott by Citizens for Decent Literature forced it out of Chicago. Filed in 1963 and yet to be tried, the suit claims that CDL "undertook an illegal plan and conspiracy designed to deprive the plaintiff . . . of its lawful right to distribute Beacon-Signal books (a paperback line) in the Chicagoland area."

The suit asks for an injunction to prevent CDL from trying to stop the circulation of Universal's goods and $125,000 assessed at triple damages under anti-boycott provisions of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. CDL, in pleadings thus far filed with the court, has denied Universal's claims and put forward the defense of "unclean hands," stating that Universal was "engaged in illegal business," the distribution of allegedly obscene books.

An End To All Censorship

Elmer Gertz

There is a scene toward the end of Bernard Shaw's minor masterpiece, *Captain Brassbound's Conversion*, that should be read by all book burners. No one in the pirate captain's crew appears to be more bereft of the higher virtues than Drinkwater—until he is confronted with the imminent burning of his "library": "Four books, torn and dirty, made up of separate numbers, value each wawn penny, and entitled *Sweeny Todd, the Demon Barber of London; The Skeleton Horseman. . . .*" Drinkwater rushes forward in painful alarm and anxiety, and pleads with Cockney eloquence: "It's maw lawbrarry, gavner. Downt burn em." He is told that he will be better without that sort of reading — the usual self-righteous retort. In intense and mounting distress, Drinkwater appeals to the all-knowing Lady Cicely: "Yer dunno wot them books is to me. They took me aht of the

Elmer Gertz is a Chicago lawyer who has long interested himself in civil rights and censorship cases. He is the author most recently of A Handful of Clients *(Follett).*

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sawdid reeyelities of the Worterleoo Rowd. They formed maw mawnd; they shaowed me sathink awgher than the squalor of a corster's lawf. . . ." Touched, Lady Cicely gently commands the American captor to return Drinkwater's penny-dreadful library to him.

There is a 1965 moral in that typically Shavian scene of the 1890s: the real difficulty today, as yesterday, is not bad books, but no books, and this leads to a basic conclusion. For some years, I have been engaged as a lawyer in defending books, magazines and newspapers against obscenity charges in the courts of several states. All my life the freedom of the press has intrigued me, and more now than in the past. I have not confined my activities to the courts—my first book dealt with that once-forbidden writer, Frank Harris. It is evidence of our occasional progress that there has been no prosecution anywhere, so far as I know, of Harris' unexpurgated autobiography, *My Life and Loves*, since its first open publication in 1963.

On countless platforms, alone and in debate, over radio and television, and before live audiences of all kinds, I have talked about the subject of obscenity, and I have written many articles for newspapers, magazines and books. In long hours of reading, I have tried to absorb the growing literature, from the classics and topical pieces to the ephemera and emotional exercises —and not least the decided cases and law review articles and commentaries.

I have observed a slow progression in my thinking about the subject. In the beginning, I was prepared to maintain, however reluctantly, that there was an area in which the courts and police might intervene. That area was broad where the reading matter of juveniles was involved, less inclusive for adults. Roughly, my thinking was similar to that of Justice Brennan in the *Roth* case when, in 1957, the Supreme Court for the first time passed directly on the constitutionality of obscenity legislation. The issue then was: "Whether to the average person, applying contemporary community standards, the dominant theme of the material taken as a whole appeals to prurient interests." Like the Court, I was prepared to juggle with different definitions and uncertain decisions, if the end result was to keep utterly worthless obscenity from distribution. But as I worked almost daily with the problem, I began to sense that, for adults at least, to permit any limitation on the access to reading was, in practice, to allow all encroachments dictated by local illiterates, bigots and prudes. I found that one can theorize about the banning of hard-core pornography, but that in fact the phrase becomes the excuse for banning, or harassing, everything that the less-enlightened decry. I now believe that adults should be permitted to read anything, literally anything. Perhaps my reasons for arriving at this absolutist view may be of some interest, because I have been for so long, and professionally, preoccupied with the subject.

The United States Supreme Court, unlike many of the lower tribunals, is much concerned about the speech and press freedoms guaranteed by the First Amendment. Again and again, it has stressed that the area of inhibition is very narrow, and dictated by social necessity alone. Generally, the door to prosecution must be kept tightly shut, and only in the clearest case will an obscenity conviction be sustained. The Court thought it was giving sufficient guidance to legislators, lower tribunals and the police in the *Roth* decision, but very soon it appeared that the meaning of the words was distorted and prosecutions were intensified, rather than diminished.

So, in a series of one-paragraph *per curiam* decisions, the Court overturned one conviction after another. It became clear to the experts—though not to those who make public policy on the local level —that only hard-core pornography (however defined) could be proscribed. The Court then passed beyond the summary reversal of cases, as in the *per curiam* decisions, and began to define and redefine in more clear terms. It explained that *scienter*, or personal knowledge, of the contents of the publication is required before there can be a prosecution; that the community whose standards of acceptability are the norm is much broader than any little village—that, in fact, it encompasses the nation as a whole; that there is to be no weighing of good against bad, of redeeming values against obscenity; that to be banned material must be utterly worthless; that obscenity is not simply a factual matter to be determined by a jury or court, like negligence, but is a sensitive constitutional issue which the courts at each level must pass upon; that for adults the standards are those of adults, and not the hobbling limitations of youth or immaturity.

The Supreme Court restricted searches and seizures; threw out all forms of prior restraint and extra-legal pressure; insisted upon adversary judicial proceedings with full safeguards; re-emphasized, and perhaps increased, the heavy burden that has to be assumed by the prosecution. With each case, it became more difficult, in theory, for the censors to interfere with the reading matter of adults.

These decisions influenced some courts momentarily, but for the most part they were as ineffective as the school integration decisions in the South, and for the same reasons. The Supreme Court once thought it could balance constitutional rights and racial prejudice by the doctrine of separate-but-equal facilities. It learned, in time, that such a formula, besides being constitutionally and morally wrong, would not work even if the states attempted to carry it out in good faith. In the end, the Court had to look realistically and courageously at the situation and ban all discrimination. At first, the Court was content to let the implementation of its decisions proceed at a snail's pace. Then it insisted upon real speed and considered the invoking of genuine sanctions.

In the same way, the Supreme Court has tried in the area of the First Amendment to balance freedom against local pressures and passions, and the local feelings are what survive, except in the rare instance when someone can afford the time, expense, wear and tear and uncertainty of carrying his case through the judicial hierarchy to the Supreme Court.

To illustrate what happens everywhere, let me cite a few examples. A Connecticut court recently threw out an obscenity statute as unconstitutional because Supreme Court findings had given it no choice, and then proceeded to adjudicate a number of cases involving tabloid newspapers as if the statute were valid. In Chicago, a jury (eleven members of which had read no books during the previous year!) convicted a bookseller of ob-

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Life, 1903

Anthony Comstock

scenity for selling *Fanny Hill*, despite the fact that another reputable bookseller had been discharged in the same city for the same offense. In Chicago, as in many other large cities, to be charged with obscenity is tantamount to conviction, as few courts or juries will acquit, regardless of the book or the evidence in its favor.

If freedom of the press for adults is to survive, there must be a rule of certainty, an absolute rule that no one can trifle with, and this must be the constitutional fiat that adults may read what they will, be it good or bad, pure or impure. This may shock some people, even so-called liberals. They will ask if the net result will not be to open the gates to a deluge of filth which will drive out the best material and in the end cause a reaction, a return to Victorian prudery. There is a fear that given absolute freedom, men will choose the worse, rather than the better, reading matter.

As Justice Black has repeatedly pointed out, the First Amendment is absolute in its language—Congress and (through the Supreme Court's interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment) the states shall make no laws abridging the freedom of the press. The general rule is that expression is limited only at that point where there is clear and present danger that anti-social consequences will ensue. The great exception to this rule seems to be the obscenity laws which, in effect, penalize dirty thoughts. Some arbiter is thought able to pry into the mind of the average person to determine prurient appeal, whatever that is.

Is there any scientifically acceptable evidence that individual misconduct or social evils result from the reading of obscenity, hard-core or merely erotic or realistic? There are what I have styled elsewhere cigarette testimonials, by J. Edgar Hoover and others, which attest to the dire consequences of reading pornography. But there are no empirical studies by psychiatrists, psychologists, biologists, physiologists, criminologists, statisticians, sociologists, or scientists generally, which would indicate such adverse effect on particular individuals or on society as a whole. Lacking such evidence, we cannot anticipate any calamitous results from a permissive attitude. If it should be established through objective testing at some later date that there is a measurable connection between delinquency, disease, crime, social evil, on the one hand, and obscenity on the other, it will be time enough to reject, or modify, an absolutist solution to the problem of dealing with the local people who thwart the Supreme Court.

It should be remembered, too, that there are undoubted ill consequences flowing from overeating, but we don't try to curb gluttony by law. We tried to create a temperate nation by law, but Prohibition was a disastrous failure, and we are still paying the price for it. We scarcely talk of banning cigarettes and smoking generally, despite the clearly established proof that diseases and death are caused by tobacco. Why, then, should reading, the least baneful and, alas, least prevalent of human habits, be limited by law?

Those who are afraid that the filth will fall into the hands of children take that chance with liquor and tobacco. They ban the sale of such products to minors, and these laws are enforced often enough to be effective; the same should hold true for pornography. While the ostensible purpose of all censorship is to protect the young mind, there are very few instances of prosecution against those who actually sell to the young. Here, too, there will be difficulties as to definition, and doubt as to the evil effect of the reading matter. It is as an expedient rather than as a matter of principle that one makes this exception with respect to pre-adult readers.

There are social instrumentalities other than the law which should be employed for the purpose of curbing bad literature. What is wrong with a reliance upon parents, teachers, clergymen, critics — everyone with vocal chords or a pen at his disposal? Merchants respond to public disapproval.

On the other hand, I think it can be demonstrated that obscenity prosecutions increase, rather than decrease, the production and sale of dirty literature. Let a book be the subject of public attack and some people must buy it; let a book lead a tranquil existence and few clamor for it. The American public, which purchases shockingly few books per capita, does not wend its way to the stands until the cops point the direction.

In our devotion to the freedom of utterance, we permit all sorts of lies and propaganda to circulate; we tolerate anti-Semitism, racism, fascism and other nonsense of all sorts —the most heterodox and explosive of ideas. We are content, with Milton, to permit truth to grapple with falsehood, confident that in the long

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run (which may be long, indeed) truth will prevail. There may be a subconscious realization that human beings need the stimulation of such contests if they are not to grow stale. And who is to say that the human system does not require contact with so-called obscenity? Certainly, it has been part of all civilizations through the centuries. There are psychiatrists who say that there is a kind of release, even therapy, in it. In an eloquent essay that should be better known, Henry Miller has proclaimed that war and violence are the real obscenities, not sex or its expression in any form. The world will survive with free utterance; it will die when the human mind is fettered in any way.

An adult nation is one that has truly grown up. It can choose not only its rulers but its reading matter. It is time that the Supreme Court says so in self-enforcing terms. There must be an end to all censorship of books for adults.

American Labor Abroad

LOVESTONE DIPLOMACY . . . . . Sidney Lens

In a fourth-floor office of the AFL-CIO's "marble palace," just across from the White House, sits Jay Lovestone, once head of the American Communist Party, but for the past quarter century as embittered an anti-Communist as you can find in the United States. From his bureau he directs an assortment of men who, at the behest of George Meany, are fighting a world battle against communism. Harry Goldberg has been with Lovestone in and out of Communist bondage for decades, but gives the impression of wishing he were back at his old job of writing music criticism for *The New Leader*. Andrew McClellan, once an amateur bullfighter, is low keyed, easy to talk to; his anti-communism seems steadfast as the polestar. Ernest Lee, a former Marine major, is Meany's son-in-law; Henry Rutz is a former Socialist from Milwaukee, and there are a few others of lesser consequence.

About a mile away, on K and 19th Streets, in the building which also houses Joseph Beirne's Communications Workers of America, is the office of the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), whose mission is to keep communism out of Latin America. Here sits Serafino Romualdi, AIFLD's major-domo, a pleasant, round-faced man of retirement age, who hopes soon to be rewarded with the Ambassadorship to Costa Rica. A floor or two above him is the office of William C. Doherty, Jr., who runs the special projects department of AIFLD. He is the son of a former AFL-CIO vice president who later served as Ambassador to Jamaica. The younger Doherty, though technically under Romualdi, runs his own show.

Finally, 250 miles away in New York are two offices—one on Second Avenue and another on East 46th Street—which are the stamping grounds of Irving Brown, next to Lovestone the most important member of this assemblage. Wherever there is a "Communist problem," there you are likely to see Irving Brown. On Second Avenue he is a representative of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU); on East 46th Street he is the executive director of a new outfit called the African-American Labor Center. Helping Brown, on a part-time basis in his ICFTU capacity, is Arnold Beichman, a capable writer and political theorist who contributes often to the New York *Herald Tribune* and *The Christian Science Monitor*.

These men—along with Meany, Beirne and David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union — are organized labor's cold warriors; for two decades they have been conducting what would be called "outside subversion" if the other side were doing it. They have in effect interfered in the internal affairs of sovereign states, without being accountable for their acts to Congress, the American people, or for that matter the American working class.

Traditionally, the labor movement has been expected to confine its activities on the international front to two pursuits: (1) To pressure its own government to adopt a foreign policy favorable to world labor; (2) to prevent international strikebreaking, assist foreign unions in strikes and organizing efforts, and exchange information with labor organizations abroad.

But since the end of World War II, the Lovestone-Meany team has gone three steps beyond these limits:

(1) Except in a few instances where it disagreed with U.S. policy (usually because it was not "tough" enough on communism), it has acted virtually as an agent for the American Government on a broad basis.

(2) It has followed overseas a role so aggressive as to be a factor in the *internal* life of other nations.

(3) It has become involved, indirectly at least, in intelligence activities.

Equally disturbing in the Lovestone-Meany record has been its negative approach to world affairs. It is not that these men oppose communism, as most of us would, or even that they resist contact with Communist countries. It is rather that their basic strategy has been a schematic anti-communism in many instances indistinguishable from that of the far Right. They have pitted themselves, not merely against Communist organizations, but against many non-Communist groups which only in the lexicon of the rightists would be considered "soft on communism."

An amusing incident last March focused attention on the role of the AFL-CIO in foreign affairs, a subject seldom aired in public. It also indicated a certain tension in the alliance of union diplomats. George Meany, that "honest plum-

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Sidney Lens, active in the sit-down strikes of the 1930s, head of a local union of the AFL Building Service Union in Chicago for more than twenty years, with which he is still associated, is currently concentrating on writing and lecturing. He is the author of eight books, of which the latest is The Futile Crusade: Anti-Communism as American Credo. *As a writer for many publications and newspapers, Mr. Lens has visited eighty-one countries. Some of the material in this article was gathered during such trips.*

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ber" who heads the AFL-CIO, denounced the 130-man staff of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions as an "ineffective bureaucracy right down to the fairies."

After the titters had died down, Meany explained that he was referring only to the "gossips and so on you find in any bureaucracy." He wasn't impugning anyone's virility, just their effectiveness. The ICFTU machine was "a complete and absolute bureaucracy" which engaged in practices that were "unethical if not worse." However, in the labor movements of industrial Western Europe the matter was not dismissed so lightly. *Arbetet*, a Socialist paper in Sweden, published an article: "Double-Dealing in the Trade Union International/Trade Union Boss in USA Crushes Aid Fund." It found Meany's claim that there was something wrong with the fund "peculiar" because he is "the Chairman of the Board of the Solidarity Fund. It is he who leads the work, and as a Chairman rules the decisions which the fund makes."

Other non-Communist unionists abroad also found Meany's behavior "peculiar," but no one seems eager to probe further. American critics of Meany's foreign policy, like Walter and Victor Reuther, or James B. Carey, or Ralph Helstein of the United Packinghouse union, keep their dissent to themselves. But in the corridors of the trade union movement, here and abroad, one hears ominous rumors about secret activity and links to intelligence services, about collaboration with government that far exceeds union duty, about a policy that clings to the extreme Right.

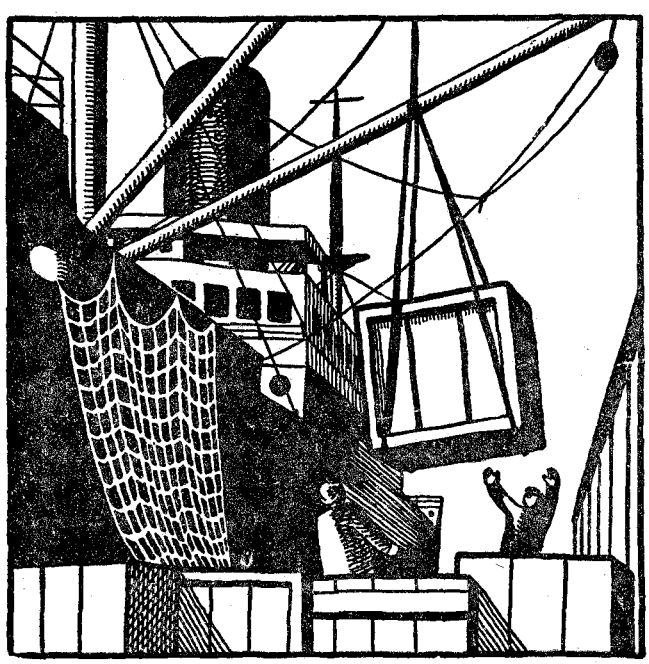
One hardly expects a moderate labor movement like the AFL-CIO to swing wide from the trail marked out by the State Department, and pursue its own course to end the arms race. But neither does one expect that it will be an active ally of the most belligerent elements in our State Department. Nor is one prepared to find that the AFL-CIO has a sizable, world-embracing apparatus and spends millions of government funds for its work.

What the U.S. Government does not do directly, because it would be flagrant meddling with the internal affairs of other nations, and what the CIA cannot do because it is suspect, the AFL-CIO does on their behalf. In ostensibly innocent relationships between unions of one country with another, the AFL-CIO throws its weight toward the making and unmaking of governments, with the purpose of instilling abroad the phobic anti-communism that has become entrenched at home. Jay Lovestone holds no public office, but it would be naive to deny that he influences national policy.

Edwin Lahey, Washington correspondent for the Knight newspapers, once described Lovestone as "a real mystery man, whose personality is part cloak and dagger, part cloak and suit." (Lovestone was then working out of the Ladies' Garment Workers' Union headquarters.) Lahey noted that "Lovestone insists rather sheepishly that there is no formal connection between him and the Central Intelligence Agency, nor between him and the Department of State, [but] it can be stated without qualification that the CIA . . . has in recent years obtained much of its primary information about international communism from Lovestone." A Chicago *Tribune* dispatch of December 17, 1954, said that "Lovestone readily agreed that his AFL Free Trade Union Committee is engaged in intelligence work." A laudatory *Reader's Digest* article on Irving Brown by a former AFL staffer, Donald Robinson, reports that Hans Jahn, head of the German rail union "told me about an undercover organization he has set up. . . . Irving Brown helped us. . . . Much of what he [Brown] has done in the cloak-and-dagger realm cannot be recounted. It would endanger the lives of his associates and jeopardize their missions."

When AIFLD was formed in 1962, three or four men were considered for the top post before it was given to Romualdi. Two of them, whom I have known for many years, told me that they veered away from the job when they heard background whispers of a certain Michigan Fund. The Michigan Fund is one of eight foundations which, according to Rep. Wright Patman, funneled almost $1 million to the J. M. Kaplan Fund of New York from 1961 to 1963. And the Kaplan Fund was in turn, says Representative Patman, a "secret conduit" for the Central Intelligence Agency. The Michigan Fund has an address but no telephone listing. One year, before it got Internal Revenue permission to withhold operating data, it listed total annual expenses of $60.51. One of the candidates for the AIFLD job, on being told that the Michigan Fund would "give us lots of money," was venturesome enough to check it out at the Internal Revenue Service. When he found no record of it, he removed himself from competition.

Wherever one turns in this area of international union activity there are overtones of secret funds and secret intelligence. *The New York Times* of October 5, 1947, reported the formation of an organization called the Free Trade Union Center in Exile. It has offices in Paris with the *Force Ouvrière*, which has received packets of money from Irving



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Brown. According to the *Times*, it also "appears to have at its disposal a working intelligence division." After the 1963 general strike in British Guiana—which Drew Pearson claims was "inspired by a combination of C.I.A. money and British Intelligence" — Prime Minister Cheddi Jagan charged that $1.2 million had been made available to his enemies from American sources. His figure may be high, but with 20,000 to 25,000 laborers on strike for eleven and a half weeks it would come to only $45 or $60 each. When I was in British Guiana in August, 1963, a union official named Pollidor informed me that the strikers had received $3 a week in food benefits for the whole eleven-and-a-half-week period. That adds up to something between $700,000 and $850,000. Andrew McClellan, who handles inter-American affairs for the AFL-CIO and was in and out of Georgetown during the walkout, told me that he didn't know exactly how much had been contributed by American labor. He personally could recall about $50,000, but perhaps there was more. Even so, a sizable gap remains between the figures of Pollidor and Jagan and those of McClellan. Who contributed the balance? If it was AFL-CIO money, why hasn't there been an accounting, particularly since U.S. labor's role in British Guiana has been criticized both here and in England? If it was CIA money, who was the go-between?

The roster of American unionists who were in Georgetown before, during and after the strike is formidable, considering that the country has a population of only 600,000. Among the visitors were McClellan, William Doherty, Jr., and Ernest Lee of the top echelon; William McCabe, a special AFL-CIO representative; Gene Meakins, of the Newspaper Guild; two Retail Clerks union officials; Pat Terrill of the Steelworkers; Ben Segal of the Electrical Workers; and four or five others, as well as a couple of Latin Americans. McCabe, it is said, was present the whole time. Some of the unionists, Segal, for example, had long associations with the Guianese, but others were new to the country. Gerard P. O'Keefe of the Retail Clerks told me that he was supposed to help draft a labor bill in opposition to the one proposed by Jagan. Meakins was doing "public relations" work for the Man Power Citizens Association (MPCA), the union for whose allegiance the two major political parties were fighting. No economic issues were in dispute; the strike was called in protest against Jagan's labor bill, modeled on the U.S. Wagner Act, and designed to give the 20,000 MPCA workers a chance to vote for union representation. (MPCA leader, Richard Ishmael, was so unpopular, according to Segal, that mention of his name at a union meeting was the signal for a round of boos.) Why were American union men involved in a political dispute, in a foreign country? Did they collaborate with the U.S. Government?

The links between the State Department and Meany's international missionaries are indisputable. The AFL-CIO has its own liaison man in the Department; he is George P. (Phil) Delaney, who serves as Special Assistant to the Secretary of State for International Labor Affairs. It is almost impossible for any labor attaché to be appointed to a diplomatic post if Meany and Lovestone advise Delaney that he does not please them. A man who sought a labor position with the Agency for International Development (AID) told me that his application was held up because Meany had reservations about his anti-communism. He was advised by his sponsors to seek a letter of recommendation from Dubinsky to overcome Meany's suspicions. Another such man, whose record was less controversial, told me that he submitted to a lengthy interview with Lovestone before being given the green light.

The implacability with which the AFL-CIO opposes communism on the international front makes it regard every thaw in the struggle with Moscow and Peking as a trick, and every step toward coexistence a disaster. Recently, when both the government and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce proposed increasing trade with the Soviet Union, Meany and his friends condemned it on the ground that it would "only finance and facilitate further Soviet aggression against the democracies." On this, as on other subjects, the labor leaders are often to the right of big business. When Secretary-General U Thant hailed changes in Russia which might result in "competitive coexistence," Lovestone pounced on him in a long article which recounted all the old Stalinist crimes and asserted that Khrushchev had never repudiated "his predecessor's foreign policy."

Lovestone and Meany's extra-union associations reflect these same views. Lovestone is a charter member of the Committee of One Million, formed to keep China out of the UN, and was involved with the Council against Communist Aggression, a China Lobby front. He appears, along with Admiral Arleigh A. Burke (Ret.) and Edward Teller, on the letterhead of the Citizens Committee for a Free Cuba. In December, 1959, Meany and Lovestone were given the Grand Cross, Second Class, by Konrad Adenauer. They were also honored last year by the Assembly for Captive European Nations, a group of conservative Socialist and peasant party leaders from nine East European countries, who receive their money from the Radio Free Europe Fund.

In the world view of Meany and his subalterns the cold war is permanent until one side or the other is beaten. Russian peace proposals should thus be scorned as frauds. "Throughout its history," says a 1964 AFL-CIO Executive Council statement, "the Soviet government has launched 'peace offensives' whenever it deemed it necessary to have a breathing spell for overcoming difficulties or a pause during which to consolidate its international position and dull the vigilance of the forces opposing it." The Geneva Conference of a decade ago was a terrible thing for, as Irving Brown told the Chicago Council of Foreign Relations, it "was the beginning of the attainment of one of Russia's long-sought objectives—the banning of nuclear warfare." At a press conference in Tokyo recently, Lovestone stated flatly that George F. Kennan's proposal for reducing tensions "was wrong," and Sen. William Fulbright was ignorant of the true facts of the "Communist conspiracy" when he made similar suggestions.

Do these fellows ever do anything but grit their teeth? "The Russians completely control the Chinese," Lovestone told a *New York Post* man in December, 1955. In July, 1949, just two months before Mao set up his government, Lovestone's Free Trade Union Committee was advising Washington: "We categorically repudiate the notion that all is hopelessly lost." Two

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years later, Brown, speaking at a Radio Free Europe ceremony, predicted, in the words of *The New York Times*, "that the dictatorship and armies of Premier Stalin would not long endure." Such analysis and prognostication can come only from a lopsided view of the world.

The Meanyites' actions are tailored to their humorless words. They can claim credit since 1945 for:

(1) Helping to split the French and Italian labor movements.

(2) Encouraging the emergence of conservative leaders in many German unions, and keeping them on the narrow cold-war path.

(3) Involving themselves—some of them, not all—in the gathering of hard intelligence which has nothing to do with legitimate trade union work.

(4) Subsidizing questionable elements in Marseilles and other European ports to break dock workers' boycotts of American arms shipments.

(5) Giving support to unionists in British Guiana in an effort to depose the elected Jagan government.

(6) Endorsing right-of-center laborites in the Dominican Republic who were dissatisfied with Juan Bosch and played a role in his ouster.

(7) Training Brazilians who joined the generals in jettisoning the constitutional regime of Goulart.

(8) Infiltrating American embassies with many labor attachés who share their views and put them into practice.

(9) Defending every military intervention by the United States including, most recently, Cuba, Vietnam, the Congo and the Dominican Republic; and condemning nationalist forces, such as those in Panama, who oppose U.S. policy.

(10) "Educating" literally tens of thousands of unionists in the Lovestone brand of anti-communism and setting them loose, with money and inspiration, against unions with left-of-center leadership.

It would be wrong to say that the Lovestone activity has been all of one piece. Irving Brown gave considerable aid to unionists in North Africa who were fighting French imperialism. He also supported Lumumba, until his death. The AFL-CIO as such has denounced Fascist Spain, apartheidist South Africa, and the military dictatorships of Paraguay and Haiti. But its anticolonialism and anti-racism are usually subordinate to its anti-communism. An AFL-CIO executive council statement in 1959

proclaimed that "the longer colonialism lasts, the greater is the danger of Communist penetration." It is significant that it has never condemned neo-colonialism by the United States in Latin America. The AFL-CIO would prefer, Brown and Beichman told me, to build genuine mass movements—unions, student groups, women's councils, peasant organizations—as the best counterweight to communism. However, if that fails, they stand four-square with military intervention and *coups d'état* to subdue not only Communists but nationalists who might "open the door" to Communists.

How did the AFL-CIO, which is usually on the side of freedom and progress in domestic affairs, fall into such a quagmire on the international front?

The tale begins with two AFL leaders of divergent purpose, David Dubinsky, president of the Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, and the late Matthew Woll of the Photo-Engravers' Union. Dubinsky, a colorful ex-dress cutter who was once a Socialist, hated the Communists, partly from principle and partly because of an internecine war in his own union. Woll, on the other hand, was to the end of his days an arch conservative, violently anti-Communist, not because he believed in socialism, but because he was labor's fiercest champion of capitalism. At one time he was acting president of the National Civic Federation, an organization of employers and right-wing unionists initiated by Mark Hanna and supplied with money by the Morgans and August Belmont. He was also head of the Union Labor Life Insurance Company. Unlike Dubinsky, his interest in foreign affairs was pragmatic rather than ideological. If you were going to beat the Communists you had to fight them on their own terms, world-wide.

Except for these two men, the AFL's interest in world affairs was remote before World War II. Even George Meany, still waiting to climb the ladder, was an onlooker. But with the outbreak of war there arose an obvious need for international activity, if only to aid the many unionists in Germany, Italy and Vichy France who had gone underground and needed help just to stay alive. In 1940, Dubinsky and Woll formed the Labor League for Human Rights "for war relief purposes and for the support of labor causes everywhere." In 1941, Dubinsky's New York locals agreed to raise $300,000 to help rescue labor leaders from the Nazis. With one eye cocked on the Communist problem, the two men nonetheless did invaluable humanitarian work. But as the war approached its end the Dubinsky-Woll team again became concerned with the menace of communism. In 1944, together with the late William Green, then president of the A. F. of L., and George Meany, they established the Free Trade Union Committee (FTUC) to revive the free union movement in Europe and Japan, and "to help such unions . . . resist the new drives of totalitarian [i.e., Communist] forces." For executive secretary they chose Jay Lovestone.

Then in his mid-forties and a vigorous man, Lovestone had been one of the founders of the Communist Party after World War I; he was its general secretary in 1929 when Moscow ordered him expelled. Lovestone had been unfortunate enough, in the three-way race among Stalin, Trotsky and Bukharin, to place his bets on Bukharin. Though ousted from power, he was not fully disenchanted for another decade. First he formed the Communist Party (Opposition), whose purpose—aside from polemics and normal union activity—was to seek

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readmission to the official movement. In mid-1933, he re-emphasized his "fundamental objective . . . to unite and rehabilitate the Communist movement in America. . . ." Years later he protested, in a letter to Hearst columnist George E. Sokolsky, that "from the very moment that I broke with the Communist Party . . . I fought Soviet totalitarianism." But as late as 1935, he acrimoniously berated A. J. Muste, in a public debate, because the latter called Russia a "degenerated" rather than a *real* "workers' state." When some of his comrades suggested that his league give up its orientation on unity with Moscow, he fought a faction fight against them. Even the first Moscow trials did not disillusion him; it was only when his former friends among the Bukharinists, including Bukharin himself, stood in the dock that he denounced the trials.

During this unhappy decade Jay Lovestone enjoyed two spectacular successes in the trade union movement. One was in the auto union, where Lovestone became for a time the behind-the-scenes mentor for U.A.W. President Homer Martin and was able to place some of his members, including Irving Brown, in top posts. This base, however, proved tenuous when Martin lost office, and Lovestone won more durable success in the garment union. His followers helped Dubinsky to stabilize his hold on the union and to enlist new members. It was not unnatural, then, that when Lovestone dissolved his political organization in 1941, Dubinsky should offer him a job.

Lovestone was in many respects an ideal man for Dubinsky. He was one of the few people in the country who could talk the language of Marxism to European labor leaders. From previous associations, he knew many dissident Communists and Socialists on the Continent. Furthermore, he impressed not only Dubinsky but Woll, and above all George Meany, whose star was beginning to rise. What Meany, as a good American and a good Irishman, felt viscerally—namely, anti-communism and anti-colonialism—Lovestone could put into elaborate left-wing political verbiage. Though Lovestone did not hold any post in the AFL's own international affairs committee (this was variously headed by Robert Watt, Frank Fenton and Phil Delaney) his special status with the men of power gave him control of actual operations. Thus, out of an unlikely alliance of two ex-radicals and two ongoing conservatives, whose way was made easier by William Green's lack of interest in foreign affairs, was born the AFL-CIO's anti-Communist crusade.

Before long, old and new Lovestone recruits, some on the Free Trade Union Committee payroll, others on that of the AFL itself, began to appear in the international labor movement. Henry Rutz went to Germany; Richard Deverall, former executive secretary of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists (ACTU), to Japan and other Asian outposts; Harry Goldberg to Indonesia, later to Italy. The team also included Mrs. Page Morris, an Arab-Moslem expert who was once an assistant to William Donovan of the OSS, Maida Springer, Ely Borochowitz, Carmel Offi, as well as a number of American labor attachés and local men in India, Israel and elsewhere. Romualdi, who had worked for Dubinsky long before Lovestone, joined the force independently and carved out a niche as Latin American delegate.

The key figure of the operation was Irving Brown. Son of a Teamster, having worked his way through college, active in union and unemployed circles, he had been with Lovestone since the mid-thirties when he infiltrated a left-wing Socialist Party caucus on his behalf. After serving in a number of government posts during the war, he wound up as the AFL representative in Europe.

The Communists, having played so decisive a role in the European underground, inevitably assumed postwar leadership of many unions. They predominated in Italy and France, were influential in Greece, and had sizable forces elsewhere. In the first years of peace there was, furthermore, expansive hope for coexistence. British unions and the CIO joined hands with Soviet and Communist-dominated unions in the West to form the World Federation of Trade Unions (the AFL refused to join). The Communists, far from being obstreperous, were quite moderate. They agreed meekly, at Stalin's behest, to give up arms used in the resistance, and to yield factories which they had occupied afterward. They were so intent on rebuilding Europe's shattered economies that they impressed even Joseph Alsop, who attributed the reconstruction of France in great measure to "the enthusiastic collaboration of the French Communist Party."

Perhaps the cold war was inevitable and schism in the international labor forces predestined, but certainly American unionists should have tried to prevent it. That was not the view of Irving Brown and Jay Lovestone. Their first order of business was to prevent the Communists from entrenching themselves in Germany, and to split off the non-Communists in Italy and France. Their method of operation was prosaically simple. Europe was digging out from the shambles of war; everyone was hungry. Union leaders lacked food for their families; they lacked typewriters, mimeograph machines, newsprint, offices, for their unions. A man who could produce such items was months, perhaps a year or two, ahead of his rivals. Under "Operation Food" the AFL sent 5,000 packages to Germany, 15,000 to France, 2,000 to Austria, and 5,000 to Greece. And Brown chose the recipients.

How much was given out, to whom it went, how it was used, we may never know. Brown's German operation was not large, but he built up an anti-Communist cadre that settled itself into various unions. How simon-pure a cadre it was is suggested by a dispatch in *The New York Times* of October 26, 1948, which records that a delegation of German unionists, accompanied by Lovestone himself, visited the Secretary of the United States Army to offer "former German war pilots to fly the airlift into Berlin." Dubinsky may well have been right when he wrote in January, 1949, that "had it not been for the extensive educational activities of the Free Trade Union Committee of the AFL . . . the Communists . . . might by now have seized control of the reviving German trade unions." This might have been unfortunate, but it is odd that Dubinsky never asked himself whether the German workers had a right to make their own choice without "educational activities" from the outside. Had the help been given to *all* union leaders, or even to all non-Communist union leaders, it is possible that a different movement might have evolved.

In France, Brown prodded his

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contacts to split from the General Confederation of Labor (CGT) as quickly as possible, and to refuse any collaboration with the Communists in strikes. Beginning in May, 1947, a wave of walkouts took place for wage increases. A few business unionists and mild Socialists, spurred by Brown, argued that the strikes were both unnecessary and politically inspired. They withdrew from CGT and regrouped around a publication called *Force Ouvrière*. The aging Leon Jouhaux, leader of French labor for decades, opposed the premature split, insisting that it would be far better to

remain within CGT, if only to win over a larger constituency. But he was outvoted by Brown's friends and dragged along in a rump group that was stillborn from its inception. *F. O.* was never strong except in a few white-collar unions, and is even less impressive today.

The most interesting drama of this period was Brown's support of a man named Pierre Ferri-Pisani. In 1949-50, Communist trade unionists were refusing to unload American arms at Marseilles and other ports. Whether they were right to do so is, of course, a matter of opinion, but it was certainly farfetched that an American unionist should undertake the thwarting of workers in France. Apparently at Brown's instigation Ferri-Pisani formed the Mediterranean Committee, with funds that suddenly appeared for the purpose of getting the arms unloaded. The actions of the Mediterranean Committee were so flagrant that the Mayor of Marseilles, Gaston Defferre, wrote a letter to his Socialist Party chief, Guy Mollet, pleading with him to stop Brown and Ferri-Pisani's activities.

In France, Brown had helped so-called Socialist unions and had been lukewarm to the Christian CFTC, which was willing to form *ad hoc* alliances with the Communists to advance common objectives. In Italy, the position was reversed. Brown and Harry Goldberg were hostile both to Nenni's Socialists and to the right-wing Saragat Socialists, who for tactical reasons did not want to break immediately with the Italian General Confederation of Labor (C.G.I.L.). Instead, the Americans supported the Christians in their secession from the main body of Italian labor.

In Greece, Brown built a little empire around Fotis Makris after the Communists had been purged from the unions through government pressure. This was to be an interesting (though incidental) chapter, for it showed to what lengths anti-communism could go. Makris was a loyal Brown man, and fairly solid with the regime. He had to be, because Greek law requires workers to pay a certain sum to the unions, the money being checked off from their wages, sent to the minister of labor, and then relayed — at the minister's whim — to the unions. But there came a time when even Makris could not tolerate government cuts in worker benefits. In the mid-1950s he decided to mount a legitimate campaign of limited strikes to culminate in broader national action. At this point Brown's pressure was enough to force Makris to yield. They quarreled and the American representative thereafter placed his support with another segment of the Greek movement organized around Dimitrious Theodorous of Salonika.

There is more to the record, but the story is the same. Right-wing columnist Westbrook Pegler says Lovestone spent "millions." Robert Lewin of the *Chicago Daily News* said, in 1950, that it was $250,000 a year, and, "including special union gifts . . . $5,000,000." Donald Robinson, whose praise for Brown is unqualified, said in 1952 that he had spent "close to $1 million." When I interviewed Brown in 1965, he claimed that in twenty years he had donated about $100,000 to foreign unions.

For his work abroad, U.S. Ambassador to France, James G. Dunn, hailed Brown as a "superb fighter for freedom." *Life* called him labor's "most effective ambassador." But throughout Europe, most non-Communist unionists look on Lovestone and Brown with hostility. "Many people say," wrote the official weekly of the Swedish Federation of Labor (L.O.) in 1955, "that Brown's maniac anti-Communist attitude is a valuable asset to communism. When it comes to a consistent and effective fight against the dictatorship ideology of communism, Irving Brown has nothing at all to teach — and everything to learn from others."

In December, 1955, when the A. F. of L. and CIO merged, there was hope that Lovestone's influence would finally be curbed. Walter Reuther and his brother Victor—for much the same reasons as the Swedish L.O.—disliked the Lovestone-Brown techniques. They felt that AFL-CIO activity should be subordinated to that of the international confederation in Brussels. They wanted Lovestone out of the picture and his Free Trade Union Committee liquidated. They did not like the constant quarreling between Meany and the ICFTU.

Unfortunately, what was expected to be a showdown turned out to be a whisper in the corridors. Meany continued to lean on Lovestone as his main foreign policy adviser. The FTUC was, indeed, scrapped, but Lovestone continued with his work of overseas manipulation, first as a member of the AFL-CIO's Department of International Affairs, and after 1963 as its director.

As a matter of fact the Lovestone-Meany alliance has become more aggressive in recent years. In particular, the quarrel with ICFTU officials in Brussels has become hotter. As *The New York Times* has said editorially, Meany's relations with ICFTU leaders "have rarely run smoothly for more than a year or two at a time. At least a half-dozen major reorganizations have been undertaken, largely to satisfy his complaints. . . ."

At root, however, is a fundamental dispute between the Socialist unionists of Europe, especially those of Great Britain and Scandinavia, who would like to see a relaxation of tensions, and Meany who wants to pursue the cold war to the bitter end. As a result, Meany is by-passing the world body and leaning on the U.S. Government more openly than ever in the past. Since the foundation of the American Institute for Free Labor Development in 1961, the Meanyites have more and

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more embarked on a unilateral course, and the trend became even more pronounced a few months ago when Irving Brown formed the African-American Labor Center. There is no longer a question as to the source of money used by the AFL-CIO in its international work — the overwhelming bulk of it comes from government sources. Labor has had access to about $110 million of public funds to further its anti-Communist purpose.

The newest chapter in the international affairs of the AFL-CIO begins in 1959, and introduces another generation of anti-Communists. Late in that year, Joseph Beirne, president of the Communications Workers of America (CWA), held a class for sixteen Latin American unionists at Front Royal, Va. Instead of financing the Front Royal conference through the union, Beirne conceived the novel idea of having the International Cooperation Administration, predecessor to AID, put up most of the funds. This gave Beirne enough money not only to educate Latin unionists but to pay their salaries for a period of nine months after they returned home. In that time, presumably, they were to put their training into practice. Apparently it never occurred to Beirne that legitimate Latin unionists, who have an ingrained hostility to "Yankee Imperialism," might find ICA money distasteful; for the kind of people he recruited it didn't seem to make much difference.

On the strength of the Virginia experience, Beirne suggested to Meany that the program be widened, and after a preliminary study AIFLD was founded. It first opened its doors to students in June of 1962. Inter-American union machinery for educating workers already existed. The Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers (ORIT) had been formed in 1951, and there were also eight or nine "trade secretariats"— international bodies of unions in the same industry, such as metal workers or culinary workers—to do the job. Beirne and Meany, however, wanted something more directly under their control.

As a trade union instrument — particularly one that must appeal to Latin Americans engaged in bitter struggles with their own oligarchies—AIFLD is a little bizarre. Its board of trustees includes not only union men but representatives of the very corporations with which Latin American unions must bargain. Meany is president. Chairman of the board, however, is J. Peter Grace of W. R. Grace & Co., which owns shipping companies, sugar haciendas, distilleries, box factories, light-bulb subsidiaries, textile plants and other enterprises in Latin America. It is a more enlightened firm than, say, United Fruit, but it does not burst with union fervor. Vice chairman of the board is Berent Friele, a Nelson Rockefeller man. Among the trustees are Charles Brinckerhoff, president of the Anaconda Company; Juan Trippe, president of Pan American World Airways; Henry S. Woodbridge of the True Temper Company; William M. Hickey of the United Corporation; and Ambassador Robert C. Hill of Merck & Company. These men do not run the show, but the association of their names with a "labor school" is not likely to draw a large student body from among those laborites in the Latin states who see the answer to their problems in social revolution.

Nor will the financing quiet suspicion. Official press releases and speeches by William Doherty, Jr., give the impression that government, business and labor each pay about one-third of the costs of the educational program (now about $2 million annually). But Romualdi told me that business contributes only 8.5 per cent and labor 11 per cent; the other four-fifths come from AID. (The social projects department of AIFLD also gets the bulk of its money from government agencies, some of it being in the form of guarantees.)

What does AIFLD do? As of its latest report, its fourteen Latin American field offices have trained more than 20,000 students in trade union procedures, and 317 have gone through more advanced courses at 1830 Nineteenth Street in Washington. The latter not only receive travel money and expenses while in the United States but are put on AIFLD's payroll for nine months after they return home. During the general strike in British Guiana this was extended by four or five months, so that the graduates could participate more actively in the attempt to topple the Jagan government.

Both the selection of trainees and the curriculum are designed to stress an anti-Communist position. Communists, of course, are banned; but so, according to Romualdi, is anyone to the left of the Accion Democratica, which rules Venezuela, or the middle-of-the-road Aprista in Peru. Originally, even Christian unionists were excluded. A few Peronistas from Argentina were inducted recently, but they kicked up so much anti-U.S. dust that others are not likely to be enrolled. The kind of people trained can be gauged from AIFLD's reports: "Former AIFLD Students Help Oust Reds from Uruguay Port Union." "Two Institute Graduates Challenge Communist Control of Honduran Union." Student Hugo Solon Acero of the Confederation of Colombian Workers (CTC), we are told, eliminated "the last vestiges of Communist influence in the regional federation of Cundinamarca." When the government of Joao Goulart was deposed in Brazil, William Doherty, Jr., boasted that AIFLD graduates "were so active that they became intimately involved in some of the clandestine operations of the revolution before it took place. . . . Many of the trade union leaders—some of whom were actually trained in our institute — were involved in the revolution, and in the overthrow of the Goulart regime."

The classes, in addition to instruction in collective bargaining and grievances, include two sessions on the history of U.S. labor, two on the U.S. system of government, one on "totalitarianism," one on communism in Latin America, one on the politics of U.S. labor, one on the Sino-Soviet conflict, and one on the German labor movement. How Latin Americans, armed with this knowledge, can finish their revolution against the atavistic oligarchies is not entirely clear. Romualdi is evidently convinced that it can be accomplished through simple "collective bargaining." Andy McClellan, the AFL-CIO Inter-American representative, who works closely with AIFLD, expresses it well: "Peaceful revolutions can be brought about by a militant democratic trade union movement practicing the collective bargaining procedure."

If education is not enough to keep hemispheric unionists in line, AIFLD has another way to sweeten the carrot. Its social projects department, run by Doherty, armed with tens of millions of U.S. AID dollars

(Continued on page 27)

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The NATION at 100

A Compilation of Birthday Greetings

The following messages have come to *The Nation* in response to the announcement that on July 6 the magazine attains its 100th birthday. The editors acknowledge them with deep gratitude, but also in the knowledge that they celebrate a tradition established long before we came upon the scene. It was James Russell Lowell who said of *The Nation*: "All the time I was without it, my mind was chaos and I didn't feel that I had a safe opinion to swear by." On an earlier birthday Bernard Shaw wrote somewhat ominously: "It is certainly curious that so outspoken a journal as *The Nation* should have survived for 60 years in a country where truth is tarred and feathered, lynched, imprisoned and expatriated as undesirable three times a week or so." To which H. L. Mencken perhaps gave the explanation when he noted: "*The Nation* is unique in American journalism for one thing: it is read by its enemies. . . ." That is the tradition which the present greetings celebrate and which the presiding editors hold in trust for successors as yet unknown.

For one hundred years *The Nation* has lent its voice to the causes of freedom and progress. . . . I take great pleasure in congratulating you on this landmark anniversary. . . .

Hubert H. Humphrey
Vice President

I have always regarded *The Nation* an eloquent voice, and often a necessary voice. . . .

Harry S. Truman

A century ago, the United States committed itself to the task of safeguarding individual rights for its individual citizens. *The Nation* has never let go concerning itself with these rights and with individual people. . . .

Rep. John V. Lindsay

It is good that we have a magazine of its sort going so far back into our history. It is even better that it should have its present vigor. . . .

Norman Thomas

I send greetings and my hope that 2065 will see this uniquely important periodical still carrying out the task set out for it by one of its founders—to "make an earnest effort to bring to the discussion of political and social questions a really critical spirit." Such an objective has never been more indispensable than today. . . .

RALPH J. BUNCHE

As a kid in the public library in Fresno, on Broadway, across from the Orpheum Theater, I discovered *The Nation*, and I looked forward to examining the new issue every week. It always had fight, which a kid has, too, and I felt that I was in there, in that fight. . . . I have visited the brand new handsome public library and it is great, but that old library was where I was a kid fighting on the side of *The Nation*, on the side of Mencken, against all of the frauds that now, at 56, I am able to almost cherish, because they are still alive. . . .

WILLIAM SAROYAN

Let me say a word of deep gratitude that *The Nation* . . . has not escalated into an advertising medium printed on expensive paper and in tiresome colors. Its sheer dedication to simplicity of format and searching for truth is reason for praise. . . .

CLARENCE E. PICKETT

I have particularly valued it in the post-World War II period, not because its independent radical thinking was not needed before but because the climate of oppression and bigotry in the United States has made all the more noteworthy *The Nation's* outspokenness since 1945. . . .

BERTRAND RUSSELL

Congratulations to *The Nation*. . . . That such a publication could endure for a hundred years is proof indeed that age need not stale pursuit of the new and untried, nor blunt the goads that puncture our complacencies.

Adlai E. Stevenson

In a world full of orthodox timidity, someone must point out that the Emperor wears no clothes. . . . Causes . . . are never lost as long as you and people like you are there to fight for them.

Kingsley Martin

***The Nation* has always inspired respect for its intellectual integrity. I look upon its praise as a most valued endorsement of an artist's effort, whether of the arts, of the theatre, or of the films. . . .**

Charles Chaplin

If you care to measure what *The Nation* has meant to our country, imagine American life without it.

Waldo Frank

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The Nation has survived a hundred years of critics and detractors on a diet of controversy and stimulating—but often exceedingly unpopular—causes. It has survived and grown because there has continued to be a vital need for its voice. . . .

Sen. Jacob K. Javits

I was thirty when I commenced a four-year term on the staff of *The Nation*, and now that I am seventy I sometimes find it difficult to remember that in those days I always thought the paper wise and right. But I do at least remember. And another thing I remember is that men of seventy then were more than likely to think it foolish (or vicious) and wrong. So in my fashion I keep young with *The Nation*, which I am confident, will never itself be old. . . .

MARK VAN DOREN

In my teens . . . it helped me untangle many a web of confusion.

And during the rest of my life it has prodded, provoked, challenged, questioned and protested—leaving no vital issues untouched. . . .

Justice William O. Douglas
Supreme Court
of the United States

If *The Nation* follows its past formula it will probably live another one hundred years. That formula has always been the deliberate choice of not living safely but thinking clearly.

Harry Golden

In 1947-48, when I was at Yale Law School, my conservative ideas were constantly challenged by the radicalized veterans who were my classmates. (They are now Wall Street lawyers.) To prove my open-mindedness, I took a subscription to *The Nation* and the magazine played an important role in a political education that turned me from Robert Taft to Norman Thomas within the course of a year. . . .

MICHAEL HARRINGTON

It has served for a century, and serves now, as a goad to the consciences of Americans. . . . Without it the country would be the stupider and more complacent. Not congratulations: gratitude. . . .

George P. Elliott

What a dull place this smug over-solemn backbiting U.S.A. would have been except for *The Nation*! . . .

If you are interested in preventing the United States from becoming a gold-plated dinosaur with a peanut brain that is bound to become as extinct as the dodo, read *The Nation*. Maybe, in time, the American people will rejoin the human race.

CARLETON BEALS

Never complacent and often controversial in its independent promotion of liberal journalism, *The Nation's* voice remains loud and clear as it crosses its 100th milestone. . . .

Sen. Edward M. Kennedy

For me, the great pleasure in reading *The Nation* has been its sustained interest in the whole of modern culture. . . . It is a delight to read a journal which is so consistently literate on every page; and it is a special delight in a journal whose main purpose, after all, is not literary. That seems to me a true contribution to culture.

J. BRONOWSKI

I have always admired the clarity and vigor of *The Nation* and have appreciated the fairness that it has granted in the expression of its editorial views.

Sen. Margaret Chase Smith

Anyone called upon to wander through the past century of American history has met *The Nation* at every significant turn, speaking reasonably and forcefully on the side of truth, freedom and humanity. The war declared by Godkin "upon the vices of violence, exaggeration and misrepresentation" in political discourse has never been won; but that it has never been wholly lost, even under the oppressive development of the mass media, is due in no small part to *The Nation*.

WALTER MILLIS

There are magazines I am glad to buy quite often at the newsstand. There are magazines I gladly receive free copies of from friendly publishers. But *The Nation* is a magazine I take the extreme position on: I subscribe to it. . . .

Eric Bentley

I have read *The Nation* across more than fifty years . . . and have accompanied it into the subjects of mankind. . . . I mention here only

In my University of Texas days, Professor J. Frank Dobie taught me a favorite expression of his: "He will do to ride the river with." Well . . . *The Nation* will do to ride the river with. And ride it has—for the right of dissent, for what my father called "liberty and groceries," and for the family of man.

Maury Maverick, Jr.

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The one hundred years of *The Nation*'s publication have been illuminated by its striking intellectual leadership and its courageous exploration of current conditions and events. . . .

Sen. Wayne Morse

two items. In the decade of the American Indians' struggle for their chance to live (1922-1932) it was *The Nation*, along with one religious periodical, which helped to sustain the effort. And Fred J. Cook's almost book-length writing, down through his absolutely conclusive writing on the Hoffa trial, have remained as a high-water mark of journalism in America or any other country. . . .

JOHN COLLIER, SR.

A few journals of opinion are willing to think the unthinkable, and gradually their seepage finds its way into the columns of the establishment and into the minds and hearts of men.

For one hundred years *The Nation* has been bidding us use fresh eyes, as we contemplate the political, economic and social scene. We should be grateful. . . .

MIKE WALLACE

I doubt whether any journal anywhere has a more consistently fine record in the cause of freedom. . . .

Michael Foot

In 1885, when I was a precocious politician of ten . . . a neighbor gave me a copy of *The Nation*. It astonished me: it was on the side of the people. But it distressed me. Though on the right side it was too mild for a ten-year-old radical politician. . . . When liberals agree, liberalism will be dead. But agreeing or not, I have found *The Nation* always honest, always intelligent, always creative.

It seems to me almost incredible that a journal launched with principles of honesty and freedom has never departed from them in 100 years.

ALVIN JOHNSON

The amount of fact modestly offered as opinion by *The Nation* goes a fair way toward counterbalancing the quantities of opinion disguised as fact in the rest of the public press.

Ben Shahn

I have been reading *The Nation* almost ever since I could read anything at all. It has always been a stimulating and at the same time comforting magazine—comforting in that in a sometimes dark world to me it has always seemed to stand for light and decency and fair play for the Negro and other victims of unequal chances.

LANGSTON HUGHES

Newspapermen, in the old days, were less prone to accept press relations handouts as the "news." Paul Y. Anderson and others in the pages of *The Nation* gave the lead to crusading journalists in other magazines in probing beneath the surface and picturing the world as it was, not as it was painted by the Establishment. Most of the other journals have given up that kind of reporting. Not so *The Nation*.

LEO HUBERMAN

Democracy does not make the work of citizens easier or simpler. . . . For a century, *The Nation* . . . and its contributors have been willing to take the risks — the risks of castigation and the risks also of being wrong — as well as having the satisfaction of pointing the way. . . .

Sen. Eugene J. McCarthy

For a periodical just to keep going for a hundred years is itself a formidable achievement. However, this could happen to a publication devoted to bad purposes or as a result of com-

***The Nation* has rendered outstanding public service and I hope it will continue to do so for another hundred years. . . .**

Hugo L. Black
Associate Justice
United States Supreme Court

I have recently been reading up on the Civil War and the Reconstruction period and I have run across a number of quotes from *The Nation* which made striking good sense. Its independence of thought and its courage have marked its progress ever since I have known it.

Mark Ethridge

In arousing meaningful discussions on politics, literature, science and art — all inseparably related within the framework of a progressive society — *The Nation* is of abiding value.

Sen. Claiborne Pell

Sometimes I have thought over the half-century I've read *The Nation* that I could get along without it. . . . But I found I just couldn't. I need its confirmation of my views just as I need its critical dissent from them. . . .

Roger N. Baldwin

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Year in and year out *The Nation* has stood like a rock of truth, clarity and witty good judgment in the field of publishing opinion and fact. . . .

Gov. Edmund G. Brown

promises. . . . What makes the hundredth anniversary of *The Nation* cheering and something to cheer about is that through the decades its editors have so written and acted as—in one of Stephen Spender's great lines—to "leave the vivid air signed with their honor."

A. J. MUSTE

We are a successful, comfortable people by and large, and change and self-analysis and self-criticism are not considered urgent. . . . Here is where a journalistic national conscience is called for. . . . To this journalistic national conscience *The Nation* has contributed mightily for 100 years.

GEORGE I. SANCHEZ

We have all been proud to write for it, and we hope it will long outlast what we have written. . . .

C. P. Snow

Robespierre once warned that "any man who will rise to defend public right and public morals will be overwhelmed with outrage and proscribed by the knaves . . . that every friend of liberty will ever be placed between duty and calumny. . . ."

Perhaps *The Nation* has not always faced that awesome burden, but certainly its role has not been easy over the past century. . . . A niche in American history has long ago been assured for this indispensable journal.

JUSTICE STANLEY MOSK
Supreme Court of California

From Grant to the "Great Society" *The Nation* has been a brocade of ideas and a trumpet of protest. . . .

Malcolm Moos

We have a long way to go, but it would be further still by a good measure were it not for *The Nation.*

William A. Williams
Professor of History
The University of Wisconsin

I have a distinct feeling that the last two decades of *The Nation's* century-long career . . . were the most dangerous years. During the dark McCarthovingian days of the early fifties the will to "burn books" . . . was given the strongest support in high places . . . and our big press showed itself weak in resistance to such repression. . . . Very few periodicals upheld the right to dissenting or nonconformist opinion, and *The Nation* was one of the "happy few. . . ."

MATTHEW JOSEPHSON

Your past 10 years have more than fulfilled the promise of the 90 preliminary years. . . .

Henry A. Wallace

One of the greatest chronicles of liberal thought. . . .

Rep. William F. Ryan

When I was a college student, a friend introduced me to *The Nation*. As I read it week after week, I began to look at the world differently, and began to see what I had never seen before. *The Nation* then motivated me to act as well as to think. . . . Whatever I have been able to do to promote social justice, in the course of my ministry, my writing, teaching or influence, has in no small measure been inspired by this great American magazine. . . .

RABBI ROBERT E. GOLDBURG

Forward, with your glorious heritage!

A. Philip Randolph

***The Nation* has provided fire and light for the liberal community, and a platform for good writers, regardless of the moment's fashion.**

Gore Vidal

I cannot believe much of what I read in the papers. It is not even a question of whether they are venal or not, it is rather their accepted mode of presenting the news, a blank undigested recital of actions. . . . *The Nation* has

***The Nation* has commendably defied the witch-burners who would blur the difference between dissent and heresy and who would enthrone orthodoxy as ruler. . . .**

Rep. Edith Green

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The publication has provoked both thought and controversy, both of which are essential in a democracy such as ours. . . .

Sen. William Proxmire

been publishing long enough to have identified itself with one of the major traditions of this country, a liberalism that does not operate by fiat but one that has experienced enough trials to take into account all the actions and digest them and present them in the light of an honest concern for the public welfare. Thus, when I read *The Nation,* I think I am getting something pretty close to the truth, give a little, take a little. This is a great satisfaction. . . .

ALLEN SEAGER

The Nation continues to be . . . the supreme American journal of social, political and literary contemporaneousness. . . .

Erskine Caldwell

On occasions . . . I have turned away because I thought I knew in advance *The Nation's* views. . . . But whenever I returned . . . I was always surprised by the healthy orneriness of its editorial attitudes, no less its articles and reviews, which proves how wrong it is to take *The Nation* for granted.

MICHAEL BLANKFORT

No nation can afford to be without a _Nation_. . . .

Roger J. Traynor
Chief Justice,
Supreme Court of Calif.

The Nation . . . has served as the conscience of a growing, dynamic country for 100 years. It continues to represent the best in independent, courageous, and stimulating thought. I have no doubt of its future.

Sen. George McGovern

In a time of increasing machine tooling of reading, the perpetual youthfulness, the ability to surprise and be personal, is one of the great charms of *The Nation.* And its great value beyond charm, of course, is that it is also so often exactly right.

HERBERT GOLD

America is freer because _The Nation_ has been open and free.

Frank Graham

The Nation is an indispensable bridge. Its 100-year history of moral and intellectual leadership in the progressive movement enables it to be a bridge between generations, to connect America's young intellectuals with tested values from this country's liberal heritage. But it just as sharply introduces aging progressives to the newest and most advanced ideas from America's universities and Greenwich Villages. *The Nation* also connects practical politicians with political scientists, creative artists and critics with scholars, and editors of mass media with the forthright and uncensored opinions of frontier thinkers and independent researchers and reporters. . . .

EDWIN F. SELF

You are a subversive force, in the best sense of that term — subversive of complacency, dogmatism, and prejudice. . . .

Roger L. Shinn

The Nation has been the conscience monitor for all who believe in the cause of liberalism.

Dore Schary

Letters of congratulation have also been received, and are gratefully acknowledged, from:

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Madness in the Age of Reason

MADNESS AND CIVILIZATION: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason. By Michel Foucault. Translated by Richard Howard. Pantheon Books. 299 pp. $5.95.

Norman Reider, M.D.

Recent developments in community psychiatry emphasize the malevolent effect of the exclusion from society (or from the family) of the mentally ill. The proponents of social psychiatry partly argue that the mentally ill receive more effective treatment in the milieu that played a role in the formation of the illness; economic factors today favor this prescription, but the scientific justification is so complex and in such a transitional stage that the position remains a hypothesis. Some facts, however, are provocative.

Foucault points out that society has always had its groups to exclude; his concern is what happens to the insane of the 16th to 18th centuries, the "classical age," the "age of reason." Prior to this period, in medieval times, the scapegoat was the leper, who began to disappear, probably through the effects of segregation, in the 14th century. At that time there were about 19,000 leprosariums throughout Christendom. What happened to these structures when leprosy disappeared? Some were to be used for the other extrusions from society, the poor, the vagabonds, the insane and the criminals. Before the use of confinement another device was portrayed in the early Renaissance, a dream fleet with imaginary crews, modeled on the Argonaut cycle, which embarked on great symbolic voyages: the "Ship of Princes and Battles of Nobility" in 1502, the "Ship of Virtuous Ladies," a "Ship of Health," Brant's "Narrenschiff" (1494) and those which Bosch depicted. But the *Ship of Fools* was the only one which had real existence, boats which conveyed the madmen from town to town along the rivers and canals. A city got rid of its insane this way; they were often lost, though sometimes they were taken back to land to a place for cure. Foucault writes this little chapter of exclusion with poetic skill, ascribing significance to the symbolism of the navigational journey, the water and the polarity of the confinement and the freedom of movement. But he deals at greatest length with a more important theme; the preclassical preoccupation with death, pestilence and war changed to a concern with madness. The anxiety was the same, but the Renaissance began to deal with insanity as a fascinating part of existence, to be endured, to be criticized and feared, to be felt akin to wisdom and dreams.

The "liberation" of the insane, the compassionate hospitality to madness in the early 17th century (*King Lear, Don Quixote*) was short-lived and was overwhelmed by the era of the "great confinement." In 1656, a decree established the Hôpital Général, an administrative reorganization of many establishments in Paris, which now had to lodge and feed the poor. One out of every hundred inhabitants of Paris found himself confined to l'Hôpital Général for at least several months. No medical concept was involved; the phenomenon occurred all over Europe; confinement was a "police" matter. "Mendicancy and idleness as sources of all disorders" for a hundred years plagued the parliament of Paris; whippings, exile, enforced labors in the sewers had not worked. Now confinement was to be tried; it offered a source of cheap manpower in periods of full employment, reabsorption of the idle and social protection against uprisings in periods of unemployment. The experiment, either as "work therapy" or as an economic measure, failed with the first phases of the rise of industrialism.

Gradually the criminals and the mad inherited the domains of the lepers of old. Naturally, in the age of reason one of the initial reforms freed the criminal, so often just a debtor or a petty thief, from the torture of his enforced association with the madman whose crime of unreason was greater. In 1790, the Declaration of the Rights of Man definitely reserved confinements for certain categories of convicted criminals and for the insane. Finally, in 1794, the liberation of the chained inmates of Bicêtre took place.

Out of this new division of the extrusions from society, arose the asylum as the unique *Lebensraum* of the insane. Foucault sees Tuke and Pinel, not as the philanthropic saviors of the insane as traditional history has interpreted them, but as creators of a new type of segregation, more humane to be sure, but still a segregation with a moral and religious atmosphere. Tuke enforced promises of self-restraint from patients, and "substituted for the free terror of madness the stifling anguish of responsibility. . . ." Why Foucault is so sarcastic about such therapeutic interventions—and sees them only as a rationalization for restraint—is unclear unless he, too, like the classicists he writes about, has become fascinated by the so-called unrestrained freedom of madness.

Pinel's asylum was religious without religion, an imposition of social morality. The values of work and family reigned. Foucault compares Tuke's and Pinel's systems admirably, showing that both required the physician to become the important figure in the asylum. However, to Foucault neither Tuke nor Pinel is a medical scientist. To him they represented moral and social forces. "What we call psychiatric practice is a certain moral tactic, contemporary with the end of the eighteenth century, preserved in the rites of asylum life, and overlaid by the myths of positivism."

About half of this book is a historical report with strong and excellent psychologizing about the history of the age of reason. Foucault's psychological treatment of the period is a curious paradox, for he hardly veils his contempt for the psychological approach to mental illness. At best his ambivalence is couched with mixed praise: "Freud went back to madness at the level of its language, reconstituted one of the essential elements of an experience reduced to silence by positivism; he did not make a major addition to the list of psychological treatments for madness; he restored, in medical thought, the possibility of a dialogue with unreason." This statement, only partly true, demeans the contributions of

Norman Reider is the senior chief of psychiatry at Mount Zion Hospital in San Francisco, and an instructor at the San Francisco Psychoanalytic Institute.

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Freud and others. But it's neatly put, *n'est-ce pas*?

I take further issue with Foucault partly out of annoyance that such a brilliant piece of work should be marred by a chauvinistic narrowness which at times borders on arrogance. He quotes almost exclusively from original sources, a sign of fine scholarship. Although there were other historians of madness in that era, he does not refer to a single one, not even Zilboorg. The references are almost entirely French. Only passing and brief quotations from Tuke, John Howard and a few other Englishmen alter the impression that France was the center of all events. Foucault fails to mention the Italians, who played an important role in the history of psychiatry in those days. He does mention that the first houses of confinement were in England, at Bristol, Norwich and Worcester, but he gives Colbert, who followed the English, more credit, if one can call it that, than the English.

But the excellence of the work is not marred by such traits. In the larger portion, where Foucault deals with the nature of insanity, its relation to passion, its nosology, and how the physicians of the era thought about it and dealt with it, this rigid adherence to original sources and his analysis of the main motifs result in superb scholarship rendered with artistry. The artistry has its limitations in that it avoids the textbook manner of dealing with a systematized presentation, but Foucault's flowing, easy style is a remarkable instrument for getting a point across. For example: "Before Descartes, and long after his influence as philosopher and physiologist had diminished, passion continued to be the meeting ground of body and soul; the point where the latter's activity makes contact with the former's passivity, each being a limit imposed upon the other and the locus of their communication." Foucault effectively extracts the wealth of intuitive knowledge and understanding of the classicists, as if to say, "all that you moderns write about was known two hundred years ago." This is merely implied, for he gets across his point more subtly than by direct statement. He simply points out what Sauvages, for example, wrote about passion and its setting for the possibility of madness. This is more effective than demonstrating how closely related these ideas are to what has been so recently elaborated into a metapsychology of psychosis. If Foucault ever had any temptation to belabor the modernity of the old ideas or the antiquity of present-day psychoanalytic concepts, he restrained himself well.

In dealing with madness as a human phenomenon, it is likewise tempting to show similarities between what Zacchias and Sauvages wrote two and three centuries ago and certain concepts of contemporary existential psychiatry. I am sure that Foucault knows these analogies and parallelisms, but he refuses to be tempted by that type of cleverness. He prefers to deal with ideas and historical and psychological forces. He seems to me to be particularly selective of dialectical presentations, equations of opposites and bipolar formulations. But he makes no pitch for any modern dialectics as an approach to mental illness. He never mentions unconscious vs. conscious, id vs. ego or primary process vs. secondary process. This is admirable, scholarly and stubborn.

Today we can say we have made progress in the fight against exclusion of the mentally ill and offenders. Arguments for protecting the excluded ones from themselves or protecting society from them have at least been called into question. At least an atmosphere of greater acceptance of the mentally ill has been accomplished, so much under medical aegis. Forces are at work to place the problem of the criminal offender also under psychiatric control, a trend opposed by some political and psychiatric groups, possibly for different reasons. Fear of the passions wears many faces, most of which are no different from what Foucault describes.

Programing the Protestant Computer

THE POSITIVE THINKERS: A Study of the American Quest for Health, Wealth and Personal Power from Mary Baker Eddy to Norman Vincent Peale. By Donald Meyer. Doubleday & Company. 360 pp. $4.95.

Ralph Caplan

The title of this remarkable book suggests just another exercise in sensational sociology, the profitable indignation of a Vance Packard roused once more to market. Actually it is nothing of the sort. A delightful, scholarly investigation of American mind-cure movements, it exposes the failures of Gospel that have nourished the gospel of success.

That mind-cure is more than a harmless recurring fad is clear. Norman Vincent Peale may have emptied religion, but he has filled churches and now heads the Protestant Council of New York. Bruce Barton, a sort of unfrocked Peale, first offered his vision of the Christ in the gray flannel suit in 1925: *The Man Nobody Knows. Reader's Digest* this year printed a condensation of the work, calling it "a classic of its kind," which it surely is. The bookstores of America are loaded with manuals that will instruct a reader in how to unleash the Power, human and divine, within him. Now it is possible for everyone to be more powerful than everyone else.

One of the most intriguing questions about mind-cure technique has always been: Why does it work? Oh, not why does it work for the patients:

Ralph Caplan is the author of a novel about the gospel of success, Say Yes, *to be published by Doubleday in October.*

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there are various reasons why it does, doesn't, seems to; and various ways in which "work" can be defined for the purpose. But why does it work for the faith healers themselves, and for their movements?

The customary answer is that positive thinking offers a cheap and easy solution to life's problems; but men have always looked for such solutions, and anyway that line of attack is itself a bit too cheap and easy. Sure, positive thinking is the greasy kid stuff of contemporary Christian thought. But if Dr. Peale's critics are so smart, how come he's rich?

Meyer finds answers varying with the personality of the practitioner, the social and intellectual climate of the times, and the adequacy of established religious and medical institutions. He thinks it is no coincidence that the first grandly organized mind-cure enterprise, Christian Science, should have been founded by a woman. "Mind cure gave jobs to women by hundreds and thousands. The clear majority of Christian Science practitioners were women. The majority of preachers in the proliferating Unity churches were to be women. Mind cure had higher proportions of women in its congregations than the old churches. Women bought its books heavily. Was there something wrong with women?"

Plenty. Particularly with the middle-class women who made up the ranks of mind-cure in the 19th century. The world seemed to be leaving them, but it wouldn't say where. No established agency dealt with their problem effectively; most did not deal with it at all. The doctor was no help, nor was the pastor and priest. But if the problem was seen as *internal*, a woman might help herself by thinking, praying, willing or imagining it away.

Mind-cure, then, gave her what the gospel of success later gave her husband: a purchase on self that neither church nor medicine was helping her attain. Since it could do this only by assuming both affliction and relief to be on the inside, it had to ignore society. Yet it had no *quarrel* with society, since positive thinking sought to reform nothing but the psychological pitch of the patient-disciple. One thinks of Christian Science's antagonism toward medicine, but Meyer regards this as example rather than paradox. "When," he asks, "might people most safely prefer mental techniques to reasonably reliable medical techniques?" Why, when medical techniques and concomitant standards of sanitation have made mind-cure, or no cure for that matter, a fairly good risk? "In its very core," Meyer says, "mind cure manifested an unavowed social dependency," and had to live in harmony with the world as it was, *however it was*. (Meyer suggests that this is expressed aesthetically in the tendency for Christian Science churches to look like banks.)

Professor of American history at UCLA, Dr. Meyer writes with particular authority (and with only an occasional academic mannerism) on the history of medicine and the history of Protestantism. His patent erudition makes his mastery of the present subject all the more impressive. How did so learned a man find time to read so much vacuous literature? In any case, he has not only read it, he has read it without—well, *almost* without—patronizing the authors. As a result, he is able to make highly original distinctions. Meyer can not only distinguish a book by Peale from a book by one of Peale's competitors; he can even distinguish Peale's books from one another!

Meyer examines the ideas in these works closely—more closely than I should have thought possible. This I suppose is the scholar's fairness at work, but there is something unfair about it too. As no one knows better than Meyer, Norman Peale is not, after all, Reinhold Niebuhr; to keep chiding the likes of Peale, Dale Carnegie and Napoleon Hill about inconsistencies and gaps in logic is to implicitly apply the standards of a world they never made and never inhabited.

Yet this serious reading of men who do not normally invite or get serious readers does turn up some amusing situations: the fact, for example, that Peale and his house psychiatrist Smiley Blanton, are at odds even as collaborators. Blanton, a peculiarly deserving victim of guilt by association, strains to accommodate Peale, but the latter seems unaware of the effort or the reason for it.

Positive Thinkers is not confined to the positive thinkers. Some of the minor characters who illuminate the major ones in this drama are made of stronger stuff: Harry Emerson Fosdick, the liberal Protestant pastor, urging adventure but unable to conceive of its political component; Rabbi Liebman, who, cutting out the middleman, was his own Smiley Blanton. And Meyer shows how William James was misunderstood to an extent that has won him ubiquity in mind-cure literature.

This engaging book reveals the character of positive thinking much more sharply than the vituperative attacks of the early fifties did. "Spiritual automation" is one term Meyer uses to describe the positive thinker's formula for shutting out human adventure. The term is apt (one of the many post-Peale scriptures is called "Autocybernetics") and the formula essential. For the computer that is oneself operates on whatever data one programs into it; if the data had to correspond to the real world, the process would be pointless.

Meyer blames Protestant culture itself for distrusting the political middle term between theology and psychology. But one can distrust political solutions, yet long for them. Even Peale acknowledges that a human being is not entirely an automaton —after all, man was born imperfect. Nevertheless, though the positive thinker deplores the same things that Barry Goldwater does, the rules of the game do not permit his trying to make society better or different.

That explains Dr. Peale's quick retreats from the right-wing movements to which he is naturally drawn. The affinity is ironic in view of one of the right wing's favorite anxiety cries, for if ever a psychology was designed to undermine the moral resistance of a people, positive thinking is it. The "thought conditioners" so zealously prescribed by Dr. Peale reflect admirably modern mind-cure's basic premise: the unconditioned life is not worth living.

(Square in Savannah)

The morning answers. In
its open palm a lily eats.

Pigeons alight on rocks over
the dark worms. Bobbing in hunger,

in ritual. Twigs return to the sun
dry, brittle. The dew descends.

At the top of trees soil
is transplanted in blue fruit.

And the cricket's shadow lengthens
in a voice under the tree. Listen!

The grasses are bending. Foam-green
extending their tips. Like shoreless

waves. A step articulating.
Uncrashing. In the wind. A blade

slaps a bird's feet. Blade and feather
lying on a note in the tower.

Jason Miller

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LSD: 'The Contact High'

Howard Junker

Though LSD was first synthesized more than twenty years ago, national illumination as to the effects of psychedelics did not occur until the Harvard scandal of 1962-63. University authorities objected to the "use" of undergraduates in experiments begun in 1960 by Professors Timothy Leary and Richard Alpert. Forced to leave Cambridge, Leary and Alpert, with research fellow Ralph Metzner, began a hegira, first attempting to found psychedelic communities in Newton, Mass., then in Mexico, then on a Caribbean island, finally at the Castalia Foundation in Millbrook, N. Y., where Leary lives and works with a small group devoted to the exploration of the consciousness-expanding drugs. On the way, a great deal of straight-out evangelism has been generated for the experience in scores of lectures and discussions, as well as in a scholarly journal, *The Psychedelic Review*, and a book, *The Psychedelic Experience* (University Books, 1964), which is a manual based on *The Tibetan Book of the Dead.* (Further manuals—on scientific, therapeutic and aesthetic models—are promised.)

The double-edged promise of psychedelic *exstasis* — psychosis/enlightenment—is sufficiently fearsome to keep many potential voyagers from taking a trip. The danger of flipping out—permanently losing touch with reality—is quite real, although casualty rates on psychedelic experiences are hard to come by, and perhaps fewer than one in 10,000 experiences results in lasting mental damage.

LSD has been used with varying degrees of success, in psychotherapy, as well as in the training of psychiatrists ("this is what psychotics feel like . . ."), the treatment of alcoholics, and the reduction of anxiety in terminal cancer patients. Further, as Aldous Huxley put it, today's "aspiring mystic" would be foolish to try self-flagellation and prolonged fasting. He should, Huxley advised, knowing "the chemical conditions of transcendental experience . . . turn for technical help to the specialists. . . ."

So far LSD, psilocybin, mescaline, et al., are legally available only to professional investigators, who have filed their research programs with the Food and Drug Administration (psychedelics, which are not addictive, do not come under narcotic codes), but the drugs are not hard to obtain from local connections. And now that marijuana, which is a mild psychedelic, is acknowledged kid stuff, the use of wonder drugs can be expected to increase dramatically.

For all the talk, testimonials and debate, however, there have as yet been no public sessions—after all, the drugs are illegal, and who wants gawkers anyway. But how to translate the experience into terms the uninitiated can understand: by subjective reports? scientific analyses? how-to lessons? humble question-and-answer sessions? None of these stratagems do the job, since, ultimately, either you have or haven't taken a trip yourself.

Luckily, art imitates life, and lectures-cum-demonstrations were introduced this spring at the Village Vanguard in New York. A series of Monday night sessions opened June 14 at the New Theatre, 154 East 54th St. The lean, tanned, Giotto-saintlike Leary calmly announced on the first night that in the past six months the psychedelic revolution had been won. There are now available (1) the accounts of explorers, spokesmen and publicists; (2) manuals and maps for the trip; and (3) materials to go up on.

"And tonight," Leary continued, "we are going to run a session for you. We are going to try to turn you on."

But short of a real drug-dole, how, if the experience really is Something Else, can the ordinary audio-visual techniques produce a trip? The key to the possibility of a psychedelic theatre is the notion of the "contact high"—an experience attained solely by being with—tuning into—someone who is up on the drug. Further, it seems to be possible, even though chemical traces of LSD do not linger in the brain, to lapse into or recapture psychedelic intoxication long after the actual experience.

William S. Burroughs, today's De Quincey, who attributes many scenes in *Naked Lunch* to psychedelics, tells of a Proustian reactivation of the experience when "the precise array of stimuli — music, pictures, odors, tastes" encountered during the experience are duplicated. "Anything that can be done chemically," says Burroughs, perhaps presaging a neo-Freudianism, "can be done in other ways, given sufficient knowledge of the mechanisms involved."

The psychedelic theatre attempts to stimulate multiple levels of consciousness by audio-visual bombardment. Its creators, a Woodstock, N.Y., trio publicly known as USCO, comprised of former *Playboy* correspondent and poet Gerd Stern, ex-Pop artist Steve Durkee, and electronic technician Michael Callahan, call their barrage of films, slides, kinetic sculpture, strobe lights, tapes and live actors a "multi-channel media mix."

These fancy terms are partly a tribute to the University of Toronto's communications commentator Marshall McLuhan, who takes a prominent place in the philosophical background of the psychedelic theatre, supplying contemporary technical insights to balance the Oriental mysticism of such figures as Meher Baba, who "in ancient times was called Jesus the Christ, Gotama the Buddha, Khrishna the Lover and Rama the King."

McLuhan argues that media study should concentrate on the effects of the technology on the environment, on social organization and thought, not on the programmatic content the media transmit. "The medium is the message," says McLuhan, who recalls how the invention of movable type provided universal access to the word and led to secular learning, individualism, nationalism and the assembly line. These forms, for McLuhan, are based on the model of the line-of-type, which is linear, sequential and bi-

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dimensional. In the electronic age, however, the model is circuitry, which offers multiple, simultaneous connections, as in the analog computer, Telstar and world government.

In other words, explains the USCO group, while the old-fashioned, single-screen movie with its sequential, frame-after-frame progression, worked once, we now need simultaneous, multiple images. More than that, we need a new theatre that will provide a total art, a grand combination of media.

At the New Theatre the media are: a half dozen film and slide projectors which wander and blend images over a huge screen which fills the proscenium arch; two "analog projectors" which are forms of lumia or color-organs developed by Richard Aldcroft, four diffraction hexes which are boxes in which revolve hexagonal figures studded with diffraction gratings (they break up the light like a prism) two NO-NOW-OW boxes which flash those combinations of letters with much clicking, as in an electronic brain; one presentation oscilloscope the size of a TV set; a strobe light which danced behind the screen; several sound channels ranging from the Beatles to erotic breathing; as well as a live drummer and, for the opening moments of the session, sitting on mattresses amid the media, a live "voyager" and two "guides," one of whom would—if it were for real — go up, while the other remained down, to serve as ground control.

Enumerating the equipment does not indicate its effect. The experience, like a real one, was ineffable. The oscilloscope gave out wave forms, the analog projectors oozed phantasmagorias, the film and slide projectors beamed out Buddhas, traffic signs, trampoline leaps in slow motion, rocket launchings, living cells, a woman's body. At times you could look at everything all at once. At times nothing. Horror, boredom, ecstasy, mild amusement. Though for want of time, skill and money the presentation is amateurish, especially when compared with those masterpieces of multi-screen film at the Johnson's Wax and IBM World's Fair pavilions, the psychedelic theatre is tremendously ambitious, whether it turns you on or not.

"One reason artists experiment with psychedelics," says Dr. Melvin Roman, sculptor and assistant professor at Albert Einstein College of Medicine, "involves the kinds of pressures society puts on the artist to do what the ordinary human being can't do. Many artists are panicky. They are searching for some perhaps magical way to remain in touch with themselves and still comply with the irrational demands of society."

At the first of two discussions held recently at the Coda Gallery, currently showing an exhibit of psychedelic art, Dr. Roman joined several other mind doctors to evaluate the ways an artist might profit or suffer from psychedelics. Many of the doctors had not had the experience themselves and may perhaps have been too easily tempted to dismiss it as a crutch or short cut, to reject the art as (simply) similar to that produced by psychotic patients in a mental hospital. But the next week at the Coda, the discussion involved the artists themselves. They insisted that art remains hard work, that during the experience itself they usually had no interest in painting, that the experience opened up whole new realms, led to totally new self-conceptions, gave much inspiration and material for work. One artist who found great pleasure in painting while high, said he also tried to incorporate into his work the pain of coming down or losing the effects of the experience. Another artist, dissenting from the general enthusiasm, said he was probably a better craftsman without psychedelics, inasmuch as the experience made him too anxious to make a statement.

On the first program, Dr. Ralph Metzner of the Castalia Foundation, complained about the traditional Western concept of the artist as an individual engrossed in trying to express his own personality. According to Metzner, psychedelics might have the effect of renewing a more traditional view of artistic work, in which the artist remained anonymous, part of a group whose major effort was directed to turning on the viewer.

At the New Theatre, Leary added another slant to the possibilities of psychedelics: "The problem in the past has been how to achieve release [from normal banality] but now, visionary experience is available to everybody. And the problem is how to come back, how to incorporate what you see on the trip into everyday life."

So far the art produced as a result or under the influence of drugs may not seem of great importance. (The Burroughs of modern painting is Henri Michaux, who showed at the Cordier and Ekstrom Gallery this spring.) But something new is happening, and it may be wise to suspend judgment for the moment. To ride with the Castalian rhetoric:

". . . the human race has come to the juncture where it must decide whether to be content with the subjugation of the material world, or to strive after the conquest of the spiritual world, by subjugating selfish desires and transcending self-imposed limitations."

Howard Junker is a documentary film maker who frequently contributes to film magazines.

The Bouquet

I have been arranging a bouquet in the bus.
Certain basic ferns were already seated
when I dreamed to look.

At bus stops, I choose my flowers one by one
as they wander into my bouquet.

Each adds.
Here one flips her ticket rudely in the aisle
and at once I am aware of whisky
mixing with the hanging sweat, cologne and after-shave.

Each brings.
There a youth with blackened hands and muddy, unlaced boots —
his whole face wilted in a sleep that snaps
on a broken stem.

And when their streets bounce towards them
they drop away, taking all that they have brought.

The bus moves on, carving itself brightly in and out of
the night.

Phyllis Brooks

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LOVESTONE

(Continued from page 16)

and staffed by sixty-seven Americans and thirty locals, allocates large sums for such projects as housing, credit unions, cooperatives, medical clinics, rural development, even union halls. Safe unions south of the border can apply for money either directly from AID's coffers or from AFL-CIO pension funds, guaranteed by AID. Fully one-fourth of AID's housing program of $250 million will be funneled through Doherty to unionists in Latin America. The most impressive project finished so far is in Mexico City, where a $10 million loan helped build 3,104 units for members of the Graphic Arts Workers Union. In Honduras, work is being completed on a more modest venture of 185 apartments. Four other projects are on the drawing boards.

According to Doherty's assistant, William A. Douglas: "Until March, 1964, we had only a small program in Brazil. We had no people to work with there. But quite unexpectedly the revolution overthrew Goulart and this changed." The projects department was equipped to act quickly. It cajoled out of AID, among other things, $150,000 to build five peasant service centers in and near Recife, a focus of peasant hostility.

Someone who worked with AIFLD in Bolivia explained its operations to me this way: "By the definition of AIFLD anyone who wanted a raise was a Communist. Its whole purpose was to make the 120 or so men it trained into government supporters. It was willing to do something for union men only if they would kick the Communists out of their union." By way of example, there existed a good legitimate union in the Bolivian railroad industry. But after AIFLD had trained a small group of railroad workers, the government decided to recognize this new force, led by Sajines Ovando, as the official union. By contrast, the tin miners, Bolivia's largest and most militant union, could expect no help unless they showed an inclination to reduce the work force in the mines and support the now defunct Paz Estenssoro regime.

With AIFLD as its anchor, McClellan running the Inter-American section of the AFL-CIO, and friends in the foreign service who accept the Lovestone doctrine, the AFL-CIO is an instrument for intervention throughout the hemisphere. A dramatic example of unofficial diplomacy at work occurred in the Dominican Republic, where last April Donald Reid Cabral, then head of the ruling junta, conferred the Order of Duarte, Sanchez y Mella on Serafino Romualdi. The AFL-CIO group in the Dominican Republic is an organization called CONATRAL. A few weeks before the first democratically elected President in the country's history was overthrown, CONATRAL ran an ad in the newspapers calling on the people to put their faith in the "armed forces" to defend them against communism. While Ambassador John Bartlow Martin was fervidly supporting Bosch, the U.S. labor attaché, the late Fred A. Somerford, was guiding CONATRAL in anti-Communist diatribes which could only undermine Bosch, who was already accused of "softness on communism." It was an open secret that Somerford, once with the Bureau of Intelligence and Research, disagreed with official policy. An obituary on Somerford states that a year after Bosch's downfall "George Meany wrote a personal letter of commendation to the deceased for his outstanding contribution to the Democratic Labor Movement of the Dominican Republic." That is the Meany-Lovestone line — to combat any force that is considered "soft"— and the tragedy is that labor movements are so pivotal in revolts and counter-revolts that AFL-CIO strategy can sometimes be enough to tip the scales. It is no accident that Christian trade union forces in Latin America are so hostile to the AFL-CIO and to ORIT. This movement, increasingly revolutionary and independent, suspects anything that smacks of Yankee control. In July, 1964, the Trade Union Bureau of the Christian Democratic Party in Chile ordered its members to quit ORIT and avoid any collaboration with the AIFLD.

Wherever the Meany-Lovestone influence has injected itself, it has left behind a debris of schism and hostility. Now its attention is turning to Africa. With the recent formation of the African-American Labor Center (AALC) by Irving Brown, a stepped-up campaign on the model of AIFLD is in the making. The object of Brown's attention here is not so much the Communists, who are weak, as it is the neutralists. Since Lovestone considers neutralism an "aide-de-camp" of communism, it is understandable that he should want to contain it and roll it back.

The African labor organizations have therefore been unreceptive to AFL-CIO blandishments. "The Western trade unions," says John K. Tettegah, president of the Ghana Trade Union Congress, "have been treating us patronizingly, attempting to impose on us the way they run their own unions, even forgetting the bloody battles they had to fight to establish their rights. What do the Western trade union bureaucrats know about our struggles for freedom from colonial rule? We resent their condescending attitude." The Africans tend to be revolutionary, Socialist, neutralist in the cold war, and anti-capitalist. They consider the Europeans who control the ICFTU too phlegmatic in fighting colonialism and neo-colonialism. They consider the AFL-CIO leadership an apologist for American intervention in the Congo.

In 1957, Brown and William Schnitzler, secretary-treasurer of the AFL-CIO, could report, after a trip to Africa, that African unionists were "looking to the democratic world" for guidance and support. About that time the ICFTU claimed twenty-one affiliates in African territories, with about 25 per cent of organized laborers on the continent. But a year later the number had fallen, according to Ghanaian sources, to 7 per cent. ICFTU secretary general, Omer Becu, admits that Western efforts have "not been as successful as we had hoped."

By contrast, Tettegah's All-African Trade Union Federation, formed in 1961, claims adherents in forty-five countries, with about 3 million members. It refuses to affiliate with either ICFTU or the left-wing World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU). Admittedly, AATUF is not particularly active; many of its affiliates are appendages to one-party governments and perform only a minimum of collective bargaining. But the fact is that they want to go their own way, with "guidance" from neither Europe nor America. An article in a Ghana paper charges that the AFL-CIO and the ICFTU "tell African trade unionists to keep their noses out of politics and stick to sound book-keeping and bread-and-butter is-

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sues. The fact is that the era of comparative class peace and conciliation in the metropolitan countries has been bought at the expense of grinding exploitation and bloody repression in the colonies." Americans and Europeans — the article says—are trying to train Africans in the rudiments of collective bargaining and grievance handling, as if they were living in a stable, industrial milieu. But the problems of Africa require national and social revolution, bold changes in social institutions, a spirit of radicalism rather than "class peace."

In this radical, anti-Western setting, Brown's AALC hopes to stimulate workers' education, vocational training, cooperatives, health clinics, housing—much in the style of AIFLD, except that there will be somewhat more emphasis on vocational training (a tailoring institution is now operating in Kenya and there is a school for motor drivers in Nigeria). There are no businessmen on the board of this foundation. The money will come, according to an AALC brochure, from "private and public institutions"; in other words, some from the AFL-CIO, most from AID and the United States Government.

The joint United States Government-labor beneficence, operating on the rigid Lovestone thesis, can result only in divisions within African labor along the same lines as the world itself is divided. The outlines are already visible. Here is an excerpt from the letter of a European unionist who works in the international field: "It is a well-known fact that Brown supported a man called Reuben Jamela in Southern Rhodesia who mounted an artificial national center with Brown's money."

And—who knows?—perhaps the AIFLD and AALC model will next be applied to Asia. Lovestone certainly is concerned about developments there. Last year Brown visited Vietnam to cement relations with Tran-Quoc Buu, president of the Vietnamese Confederation of Labor. Buu, a moderate Christian unionist who fled from the Vietminh in the North, was also entertained in the United States under AFL-CIO auspices. The trip by Meany and Lovestone to Japan, for the founding conference of the conservative Japanese Confederation of Labor (Domei) earlier this year, was an obvious attempt to counter the neutralist and leftist tendencies of the predominant labor federation, Sohyo.

American labor leaders certainly have a right to express a preference between foreign unions controlled by Communists or neutralists and those with pro-American sentiments. And it is certainly legitimate for them to offer gifts of cars or mimeograph machines to help the work of those they favor. But there is a line beyond which such aid becomes intervention. What is intolerable is not that Lovestone and company are anti-Communist — virtually all unionists in the United States, including the author, are philosophically opposed to communism. What *is* intolerable is the combative, deliberate attempt to set off one type of foreign unionist against another in order to enhance the United States position in the cold war. What *is* intolerable is the deliberate attempt to mold a foreign union in a barren "anti-Communist" image.

Senator Morse said in a recent criticism of the United States role in international affairs that our government believes "that because of military power its dictates around the world will have to be obeyed." Meany, Lovestone and their adherents believe that because of their dollars—now openly flowing from the U.S. Treasury—unionists abroad can also be made to line up.

Back in 1951, in a brash speech, George Meany listed A.F. of L. accomplishments on the international front. "*Primarily due to our effort,*" he said, "there has been established . . . the Force Ouvrière." In Germany it "was *the AFL* which broke the Communist stranglehold on the trade unions." "*Our* European representative, Irving Brown, participated in cleaning the port of Marseilles of Communist control." "*We* have established numerous contacts with resistance movements" behind the iron curtain. "On the China mainland, *we* are aiding the underground democratic forces." (Emphasis added in all cases.)

Is it consistent with the principles of a democratic society for a small clique of self-appointed men to inject themselves into the affairs of other nations? Would it be permissible for the U.S. Chamber of Commerce to contribute to a Conservative force in England to depose the Labour Party? What gives the AFL-CIO a prerogative that other institutions don't—and shouldn't—have?

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